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Meridor: No plans to raise taxes

DAVID HARRIS

FINANCE Minister Dan Meridor is expected to tell the cabinet at its first discussion of the economy today that he has no intention of raising taxes.

The main economic strategy for the coming years will be to increase savings, according to a document just completed by the Finance Ministry.

At a briefing on Friday, Meridor said the increased inflation and the growing balance of payments deficit were caused by the policies of the Labor government over the last two years.

"If we do nothing, the deficit will increase," said Meridor, who is calling for a cut in public spending. "I am not suggesting a revolution. If we don't make small changes now, we'll have to make large corrections in the future."

The document outlines solutions to the ongoing problems, and suggests the economy could be back on track by the year 2000.

If the current trend continues, the report says, there will be an increase in the trade deficit, a rise in foreign debt, and a large rise in unemployment.

The solutions being proposed to reduce the trade deficit are curbing the increase in public expenditure and structural reforms to encourage competition, which will lead to an increase in productivity.

The government expects to see a continuing rise in per capita income, from \$15,700 last year to \$21,400 between 1998 and 2000.

The report also recommends a 4.8% reduction in construction next year. At present, the government believes there is too much building. Meridor believes the reduction will not affect housing prices.

Meridor said the government's proposals will not harm the poor. The gap between rich and poor is now too big, and "we can't allow this to continue," Meridor said. Asked about opposition from ministers to cuts in their budgets, Meridor said, "Every minister represents his own legitimate interests, but other portfolios, like that of finance minister, have to take care of the entire economy."

While not going into specifics on how the budget cuts will be achieved, Meridor said most of the steps would be implemented from next year, "but some steps will be advanced."

Meridor reiterated that the government must do its utmost to ensure the autonomy of the Bank of Israel, adding that Governor Jacob Frankel made the right decision to increase interest rates by 1.5% last week.

Turkey's Islamic party signals compromise

News agencies

ANKARA - Setting aside his pro-Islamic Welfare Party's earlier rhetoric, Turkey's new Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan expressed his commitment to secularism and compromise on his former radical platform.

Erbakan charted a middle way between East and West in foreign policy, espoused free-market reforms and paid homage to the country's secularist founder. "Cooperation with both the West and with the Islamic, Central Asian and Balkan countries with which we have spiritual and historic links will be increased," Erbakan said yesterday at a presentation ceremony for his new cabinet.

He became the first Islamist leader of Moslem but secular Turkey in a coalition with conservative leader and former prime minister Tansu Ciller, the US-educated technocrat with close personal and political ties to the West. Ciller is Erbakan's deputy and foreign minister under a four-year rotating premiership deal which sees the Islamist taking the top job for the first two years.

Full story, Page 4



President Bill Clinton mugs for the cameras yesterday joined by French President Jacques Chirac (center) and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl at the news conference concluding the G7 economic summit in Lyon.

G7: 'Land for peace' remains the formula for ME solution

LYON (Reuters) - World powers, reacting to the election of the Netanyahu government, said yesterday that "land for peace" remains the basis for a Middle East settlement.

In a statement adopted at their annual summit, the Group of Seven industrial democracies and Russia called for a revival of Arab-Israeli peace negotiations as soon as possible.

But US President Bill Clinton and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl said Arab states and the outside world should give Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu some time to establish his policies.

"A little time needs to pass, and we hope that no one, including those of us who are third parties, will say or do anything that will make the peace process more difficult down the road," Clinton told a news conference.

He said the summit leaders agreed that Israel should keep to the commitments it has made so far in the peace process.

Noting that security had played a major part in Netanyahu's election, the leaders' statement said: "We are convinced that the security of all people of the region can eventually be achieved only through comprehensive, equitable and lasting peace."

On Wednesday, US Secretary of State Warren Christopher caused disquiet in the Arab world by saying the principle which Arabs see as the bedrock of peace talks with Israel was a general guideline that had to be adapted to reality.

"At a time when the Middle East peace process requires a renewed impetus, we urge all the parties to fulfill their obligations, including agreements already signed, and to continue their efforts in favor of a comprehensive peace on the basis of the Madrid process, the principle of land for peace and other principles enshrined in the relevant UN Security Council resolutions," the eight-power statement said.

The US, Canada, France, Britain, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Russia hailed what they called enormous achievements in

Middle East peace, citing the Israel-PLO agreements, the Israel-Jordan treaty, and negotiations between Israel and Syria.

Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov told reporters the aim is to preserve what has been achieved so far, and there is little point in new initiatives before the US presidential election in November.

"It would be counterproductive before the elections," he said. "We have reached a crucial point in this process. We must concentrate on keeping everything that has been achieved."

Clinton praised Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority for the way it is providing law and order and running daily life in the Gaza Strip and parts of the West Bank and said economic aid to the Palestinians is a way of underpinning peace.

The statement urged the Palestinian Authority to promote the development of democratic institutions, the rule of law, open administration, and respect for human rights.

While recognizing Israel's security needs, it sought a complete lifting of the closure of the Palestinian-ruled territories, imposed after a wave of suicide bombings in February and March.

"We believe that terrorist threats will also be curbed by the elimination of isolation and poverty, especially in the Palestinian territories, by the progressive restoration of confidence, and by the successful outcome of the peace negotiations," the statement said.

However, it was less specific on Palestinian rights than a European Union statement last weekend, which enshrined the "right to self-determination, with all that it implies" - a step short of endorsing Arafat's call for a Palestinian state.

It also omitted any mention of Israeli plans to expand Jewish settlements. The eight powers said they trust the Arab League would soon end its increasingly ineffective boycott of Israel.

G7 warns Bosnian Serbs, Page 3

Begin rebuked for criticizing Arafat - Gold meeting

DAVID MAKOVSKY, JON IMMANUEL and news agencies

PRIME Minister Binyamin Netanyahu blasted Science Minister Ze'ev Begin at Friday's cabinet meeting for objecting to a meeting the day before between Palestinian Authority leader Yasser Arafat and Netanyahu's foreign policy aide, Dore Gold.

The Gaza City encounter was first meeting between a senior Israeli official and Arafat since the elections. The two discussed the possibility of economic cooperation and Gold stressed that security is a prerequisite for the success of the peace process.

At the cabinet meeting, Begin delivered a Knesset-style 10-minute speech, saying the Gaza meeting was "mistaken." Netanyahu suggested the minister could resign if he does not accept government policy.

After complaining to Begin that the cabinet meeting is not the place for such speeches, Netanyahu said Begin should know that dialogue with the Palestinian Authority is part of the government's guidelines and that it would continue.

"You knew this before you joined the government," cabinet secretary Danny Naveh cited Netanyahu as saying.

Officials in the Prime Minister's Office said it is important to publicize this incident, because "dialogue with the Palestinians is not a marginal issue, but a major one. The prime minister felt this had to be clarified right now."

Gold delivered a message to

Arafat regarding security, and also conveyed various points of the Netanyahu government's policy. The prime minister has refused to say when and under what conditions he would meet with Arafat.

Arafat aide Nabil Abu Rudeineh said "a message was delivered," but did not reveal its contents.

Arafat spokesman Marwan Kanafani said that, regardless of the contents, "the meeting itself was a positive sign." Oslo negotiator Hassan Asfour noted that "the initiative came from the Israeli side."

Yediot Aharanot, which reported the story Friday, said the meeting was prompted by reports of

declining cooperation between the two sides' security services since the elections a month ago.

"The principle message that has been passed on... is the need for the Palestinian Authority to conduct a continuous, unconditional, and unchanging struggle against terrorism," Naveh said after the cabinet meeting.

Other immediate issues to be discussed include a list of violations of the Oslo accords, which the government wants the PA to rectify. But no changes are expected immediately.

"We have a list of our own," a senior PA official said.

"Of course it's not enough," Asfour said of the visit by Gold. "This is not a substitute for a public meeting between Netanyahu and Arafat."

SLA foils attempt by Hizbullah to overrun post

DAVID RUDGE

AT least one Hizbullah gunman was killed and three others were reported wounded yesterday when they unsuccessfully tried to overrun a South Lebanese Army position in the security zone.

Three SLA soldiers were wounded in the fighting, which drove off the attackers.

Hizbullah claimed its fighters entered the compound of the Kawkabeh position, in the northeastern sector of the zone. A statement said they temporarily occupied the position, raised a Hizbullah flag there, blew up an armored personnel carrier and ammunition and withdrew after 20 minutes.

It appears they may have reached an APC in the parking area of the outpost beyond the ramparts and the fortified firing posts, but failed to raise flags on the ramparts themselves, because of the return fire.

The body of the Hizbullah gunman killed in the abortive attack was found outside the compound. He was dressed in full army uniform and equipped with an M-16 assault rifle with grenade launcher, plus a cellular phone.

The attackers left behind arms and equipment when they retreated, including anti-tank missile launchers, rifles, machine guns, mines, explosives, grenades and communication equipment, as well as a Hizbullah flag.

The assault - the first by Hizbullah on an SLA position in several years - was launched under cover of heavy fire against at least six SLA posts. The mortar, anti-tank missile and light weapons fire against the other outposts, including Soujud and Zumriya, was apparently designed to divert attention from

the ground assault.

It is believed that dozens of Hizbullah gunmen were involved in the overall operation, as well as one or more squads in the actual assault attempt. The three SLA soldiers wounded in the fighting were evacuated to Marjayoun Hospital.

The fighting began around 5:30 a.m. and prompted heavy return fire by IDF and SLA gunners at Hizbullah targets in the zone and beyond. IAF helicopter gunships were also called into action.

Reports from Lebanon said the Lebanese Army's command post in Labiyya in the western Bekaa Valley was heavily shelled during the course of the fighting, which lasted for nearly five hours.

The reports said there were no casualties, although the shelling caused extensive damage to property. If the reports are correct, the

shelling of a Lebanese Army post could indicate a change of policy by the IDF in terms of placing responsibility for Hizbullah's activities on the Lebanese Army and, indirectly, the government.

The understandings that ended Operation Grapes of Wrath in April specifically ban bombardments of civilian communities - either in the Galilee or villages north of the security zone, even though Hizbullah is continuing to operate from the villages.

If indeed the Lebanese Army based was shelled, it could be seen as sending a message to the Lebanese government to either curb Hizbullah or face the consequences.

The Hizbullah operation yesterday, following a period of relative quiet in the region, was undoubtedly planned a long time in advance and designed to demonstrate the organization's fighting abilities.

Security guard kills burglar

RAINE MARCUS

A BURGLAR was killed yesterday by an off-duty security guard, who shot him to death when he tried to stab the guard with a screwdriver while fleeing the scene of the crime. The dead man was identified as Gabriel Mor, 40.

The guard was detained for questioning at the Hayarkon police station, but is expected to be released. Dep.-Cmdr. Ya'acov Shoval said a preliminary probe had shown that the guard had acted in self-defense.

"Although the investigation is in its early stages, all evidence suggests the man acted out of self-defense when he felt a definite threat to his life," said Shoval. The screwdriver with which Mor tried to stab the guard was found at the scene and another eyewitness corroborated his version of events.

Other officers said the guard would probably be released on bail as soon as his version of events checked out. "He didn't mean to kill Mor,"

said an officer. "The whole incident is very unfortunate and I'm sure the guard is repentant over the death of another human being."

Police are still searching for a second burglar whose identity is known to them.

The incident occurred just before 6 p.m. yesterday when the guard, a neighbor, heard the men in the apartment above him in the city's Sderot Chen, just across from the municipality. He stepped out of his apartment and noticed two men fleeing the apartment on the first floor, whose elderly occupants were not home.

The guard shouted to the pair to stop. One man fled, and when the guard blocked Mor's way, Mor apparently tried to stab him with a screwdriver. The guard shot him with his licensed .22 caliber pistol once in the chest, and a badly injured Mor crawled down the stairs until he collapsed.

Mor was pronounced dead at the scene.

Ambush findings: Jordan Valley needs better patrols

Jerusalem Post Staff

BEEPING up patrols along the Jordan Valley with larger and better-trained units and giving them higher-ranking commanders are among the recommendations that are to be implemented following last Wednesday's ambush there, in which three soldiers were killed and two wounded.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai visited the site of the ambush, east of Moshav Na'aran, accompanied by IDF Chief of Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak. He was briefed by OC Central Command Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan and other senior officers about the results of the IDF's preliminary investigation.

The inquiry found that the commander of the second patrol, which was summoned by the patrol that had been ambushed, failed to order his soldiers to open fire on the infiltrators, and that one of his soldiers finally took command and gave the order.

It also found that the reserve company commander was not at his position at the time of the incident and that the soldiers who were left in charge failed to respond properly.

Once commanders arrived on the scene, the report found, there was a delay before they launched a search for the infiltrators. As to the performance of the soldiers during the ambush - one reportedly abandoned the command car enabling the attackers to remove a machine gun - a senior officer said: "The OC Central Command is not dealing with or examining the performance of this or that corporal."

Among the long-range recommendations of the report is to improve training of reserve units patrolling the Jordan Valley.

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Gov't to step up watch on PA in capital

THERE is no justification at present for closing Orient House, but a close watch must be kept on the PLO headquarters in Jerusalem, according to a report presented to Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu by Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani on Friday.

Netanyahu is today expected to announce the establishment of a special committee to monitor Palestinian Authority activities in Jerusalem, and keep a special watch on Orient House operations, government sources said.

The committee is either to be

BILL HUTMAN

interministerial or under the Internal Security Ministry. Kahalani had already come out publicly in favor of taking no immediate action against Orient House, and instead keeping a careful tab on its activities.

The report presented Friday, compiled by Ruvien Levy, Arab affairs adviser in the Internal Security Ministry, showed that the PLO headquarters now appears to be operating within the law. However, the report also said that in the past Orient House has served

as a center of PA operations.

After the meeting in Netanyahu's office, also attended by Foreign Minister David Levy, Finance Minister Dan Meridor, and Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, Netanyahu decided to consider taking new steps against PA institutions operating in the capital, according to him.

The Likud promised to shut down Orient House during the election campaign, although the Netanyahu government appears to be backing down from this position, instead favoring a wait-and-see approach.

Cabinet approves Magen as deputy minister

Frenkel appointed for second term

THE cabinet on Friday approved the appointment of David Magen as deputy finance minister, fulfilling an agreement with Foreign Minister David Levy to appoint a deputy minister from Levy's Geshet faction.

The cabinet also approved the appointment of Bank of Israel Governor Jacob Frenkel for a second five-year term.

The cabinet also established several ministerial committees. Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu will head the Ministerial Committee on Jerusalem; Finance Minister Dan Meridor will head the Economy Committee; Justice Minister Ya'acov Ne'eman will head the Legislation Committee; Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky will head the Committee on Absorption, Immigration, and the Diaspora; and Transport Minister Yitzhak Levy

will head the Road Safety Committee.

The cabinet also withdrew the appointment of Shmuel Hollander as civil service commissioner, in light of the petition to the High Court of Justice against the sudden replacement of current commissioner Yitzhak Galnoor. Instead, Netanyahu is to meet with Galnoor this week and inform him he intends to replace him.

Levy asked that the Legislation Committee discuss whether certain bills he wants to propose would be in keeping with the Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation. Specifically Levy wants to forbid the opening of Jewish-owned businesses and places of entertainment on Shabbat.

The committee is to hold the discussion this week. (IHM)

Netzarim residents block Palestinian traffic

RESIDENTS of Netzarim in Gaza continued to block the road leading past their settlement on Friday, burning tires on the road to protest the army's decision to allow Palestinian vehicles to use it.

The road had been closed to Palestinian traffic for more than a year and a half, following a wave of terror attacks at the Netzarim junction. On Thursday, however, the army decided to open it to PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and Palestinian policemen on their way to their regular posts. The residents charge that this constitutes a grave danger to them, since the road passes some 20 meters from the settlement.

After blocking the road for seven hours on Thursday in protest, the residents decided to step up their sanctions on Friday. In addition to blocking the road,

EVELYN GORDON

they declared a total closure of the settlement: No one left for school or work, and no one - not even food suppliers - was allowed in.

Throughout the morning, the army kept Palestinian vehicles out because of the human barricade, but in the early afternoon, it decided to let one vehicle through, along with an Israeli escort to disperse the protesters. The residents gave way, but immediately afterward burned tires on the road in protest. The police detained one resident for questioning, but later released him.

Shortly before Shabbat, the residents and the army reached a temporary agreement: One Palestinian vehicle would be allowed to use the road every two hours until this afternoon, when

the residents will meet with OC Southern Command Maj.-Gen. Shlomo Yanai to discuss the situation. The residents also agreed to end the closure of the settlement, but kept a vigil over Shabbat to ensure that the agreement was being kept.

Netzarim spokeswoman Miri Harari said that in fact, the Palestinians used the road only about once every five hours over Shabbat, "which shows that they don't really need the road." Harari explained that there is an alternate route - the same one the Palestinians have been using for the past 18 months.

Datya Yitzhaki, spokeswoman for the Gaza Regional Council, said the residents also contacted Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, who promised to meet with them sometime this week. She said it was not yet clear whether the army's sudden decision to open the road - which it says was the result of an agreement with the Palestinians - was made with the government's approval, or independently.

Yitzhaki said the residents agreed to the temporary compromise because they preferred to avoid a violent confrontation with the police and the army. However, she said, they have no intention of giving up the fight, since they believe Palestinian traffic on the road is a danger.



Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu pays a shiva call on Friday to Shas mentor Rabbi Ovadia Yosef (second from right), who lost his brother last week. From left: Netanyahu's spokesman, Shai Bazak, Shas leader MK Aryeh Deri, and Avigdor Lieberman, director-general of the Prime Minister's Office. (Ronen Kedem)

Kahalani calls for emergency meeting on road accidents

AN emergency interministerial meeting on road accidents has been called by Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani for this afternoon to find ways to deal with the recent jump in road deaths.

The number of road deaths dropped in the first five months of the year, but rose sharply again this month, according to a ministry statement.

Representatives of the Road Safety Authority, Transport Ministry, Education Ministry, and police are to attend today's meeting.

"What is important is to change Israelis' driving behavior," Kahalani said in the statement. He said fighting traffic accidents is largely an issue of improving driving habits, and that

BILL HUTMAN, EVELYN GORDON, and ILM

increasing police enforcement is not enough.

Meanwhile, there were several more road casualties over the weekend. Tzefania Golan, 24, of Karkur, was killed yesterday morning his motorcycle collided with a truck making a turn in front of him.

On Friday night, a 79-year-old Haifa woman was seriously injured when a car hit her as she was crossing the street.

A reserve soldier was critically injured and a policeman seriously injured when their car hit a bus two kilometers north of Argaman in the Jordan Valley on Friday morning. Both men

were evacuated by helicopter to Hadassah-University Hospital in Jerusalem's Ein Kerem. No one on the bus was hurt.

The accident took place on Road 90, where two people were killed in accidents last week. After the earlier accidents, Transport Minister Yitzhak Levy promised to immediately allocate NIS 10 million to improve the road.

"It's a very hard road to drive," said Tami Afiya, spokeswoman for the Jordan Valley settlements. "It's a road meant for accidents."

Afiya noted that the previous government had promised to improve the road, but nothing was ever done.

"We hope someone will finally fulfill these promises," she said.

Lebanon calls on UN to increase UNIFIL

DAVID RUDGE

THE Lebanese government is pressing the UN to increase the size of the UNIFIL peacekeeping force.

The call was made by government leaders during a visit to Beirut by UN Undersecretary-General Kofi Annan, who has been mentioned as one of the leading candidates to replace incumbent Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Annan, from Ghana, met with Lebanese leaders, including President Elias Hrawi, Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, and Parliament Speaker Nabih Berri on Friday.

The government has expressed grave concern over recent cutbacks in UNIFIL, which have reduced the number of personnel from 5,000 to 4,500, mainly by cuts on the administration side.

"There is no consensus on anything in Lebanon, except UNIFIL. We all want the force to stay in the country and be strengthened,"

Hariri was quoted as saying to Annan.

Annan visited UNIFIL officials yesterday and met with troops in the field as part of a fact-finding tour on the eve of the extension of the force's mandate next month. A planned visit to the Norwegian battalion was canceled, because of heavy fighting in the region yesterday morning.

He did, however, visit the Fijian battalion's headquarters in Kafir Kana, where more than 100 Lebanese civilians were killed by an accidental IDF shelling of the compound.

Annan, who is responsible for UN peacekeeping missions, is due to visit Syria today and meet with senior officials as well as members of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force on the Golan.

He is due to fly to Israel from Damascus tomorrow night and meet with senior officials here on Tuesday.

Syrian FM meets with Rafsanjani

NICOSIA (Reuters) - Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk Shara yesterday held talks with Iranian President Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani and discussed the need for solidarity to confront Israel.

"He [Shara] said that the situation dominating the region, particularly after last April's Zionist aggressions on Lebanon and threats against other Islamic states, warrant further coordination and exchange of views among Moslem countries to foil plots of the enemies of Islam," the official Iranian news agency IRNA said.

The agency said Shara delivered a message to Rafsanjani

from Syrian President Hafez Assad and briefed him on the latest developments in the region.

IRNA said Shara described Iran as a "friendly and progressive country" and pointed out that Damascus always regarded as "essential" close cooperation and exchange of views with Iranian authorities in order to restore peace in the region.

Rafsanjani called Syria a "frontline Moslem state" and said it "acts as a line of defense vis-a-vis the state terrorism and threats of the Zionist entity against regional Moslem countries," IRNA said.

The unveiling of the tombstone in memory of the late

BARRY MARTIN

will take place at the new Ra'anana Cemetery on Friday, July 5, 1996, at 11 a.m.

With deep sorrow we announce the untimely passing of wife, sister and dear grandmother

SONIA SHERWIN

née Goldstein

The funeral will take place Tuesday, July 2, 1996, (15 Tamuz 5756) at 5 p.m. at the Kibbutz Nahshon cemetery.

We will meet at the parking lot next to the dining room at Kibbutz Nahshon.

With deep sorrow we announce the passing of

DAVID BLUMBERG

The funeral will take place today, June 30, 1996, at 2 p.m. at the Herzliya cemetery.

Deeply mourned by
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NEWS IN BRIEF

Man drowns off Ashkelon

A 22-year-old Ashkelon man drowned opposite the town's seashore yesterday evening, in an area where swimming was prohibited. The man got into the water opposite the national park with two other friends and began to be pulled out by the undertow. His friends managed to get out of the water but he was pulled under and drowned. (IM)

Italy to pursue Achille Lauro mastermind

Italy has promised to pursue Mohammed Abbas, 48, mastermind of the Achille Lauro hijacking, said Ilsa Klinghoffer, whose father, Leon, was killed in the cruise ship hijacking. Klinghoffer met yesterday with Italian officials. (AP)

Best wishes to Terri and Michael Poznanski of New York on the occasion of the Bar Mitzvah of their son **AMI YONATAN** Lots of love to the grandparents, from Family Poznanski Melbourne, Australia

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BUILDING AND PLANNING LAW, 1985

JOZAN VALLEY LOCAL PLANNING DISTRICT

ANNOUNCEMENT RE APPROVAL OF LOCAL PLAN NO. 8592/GMEL

We hereby announce, in accordance with clause 117 of the Building and Planning Law, 1985, the approval of local plan no. 8592/GMEL, involving charges with regard to the following plan:

- Areas included in the plan and their location:
Karel Desebe, Bloc 15661, Lots 22, 45
- Principal stipulations of the plan:
a) change in the designated purpose of the area from "scenic nature reservation" to "storage area B" within the boundaries of the declared national park;
b) the boundaries and instructions for storage area B;
c) construction in storage area B;
d) instructions pertaining to destruction and preservation of buildings;
e) instructions regarding the manner of use of the scenic recreational area.
- An announcement regarding the deposition of the plan was published in the newspapers on 15 November 1995, and in Collected Publications no. 4365, 1995/96, p. 1046, on 28 December 1995.
- The plan in question is available at the office of the Regional Council for the North, as well as in the offices of the Local Planning and Building Commission, Jordan Valley. All those interested may examine them on the days and hours that the offices are open to the public.

Yigal Shabar
Chairman of the Regional Planning and Building Commission
Northern Region

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Yeltsin physically fit to face voters, aides say

MOSCOW (Reuters) — President Boris Yeltsin, whose state of health looks set to dominate the final stages of Russia's election race, will be fighting fit for Wednesday's runoff vote, senior aides said yesterday.

A poll published yesterday gave Yeltsin more than twice the support of his communist challenger Gennady Zyuganov, but the pollsters said they did not believe their own figures.

The opinion survey by the CESSI institute for the Moscow Times newspaper and CNN television credited the president with 50 percent of the vote against just 24.8 percent for Zyuganov, ahead of their July 3 runoff.

But the Moscow Times quoted CESSI director Vladimir Andreyenko as saying: "One must be very careful with this data."

Some other leading Russian pollsters predict a closely-fought runoff.

Zyuganov made the most of the uncertainty stirred when the 65-year-old leader cancelled some campaign trips and failed to show up on Friday for a public engagement.

Zyuganov, 52, dismissed Kremlin explanations that Yeltsin had simply lost his voice due to the strains of campaigning.

"In my view, it's all a lot more complicated. On the other hand, at 65, after two serious heart attacks, you can't be in good health. Any country doctor will tell you that," Zyuganov told a news conference. Yeltsin's aides, quoted by

Interfax news agency, reassured voters that the president was in good shape. The Kremlin press service said he met top aide Viktor Ilyushin yesterday to discuss campaign strategy.

Senior political adviser Georgy Satarov, who met Yeltsin on Friday, said the white-haired leader needed "another two to three days to get back to complete fighting form."

Yeltsin, who danced at rock concerts as he criss-crossed the country in four months of vigorous campaigning, won the June 16 first round vote by three points from Zyuganov.

Itar-Tass news agency said Yeltsin's new security overlord Alexander Lebed added his voice to the reassuring Kremlin chorus, saying the Russian leader's health was "normal."

Lebed, who came a strong third in the first round vote, also appealed for his supporters to back Yeltsin.

"We have only one choice — between the new and the old society," said Lebed, who won more than 14 percent, about 11 million votes, in the first round.

Lobov, who was replaced by Lebed as secretary of Russia's powerful Security Council, told reporters during a visit to the southern Siberian city of Barnaul that Yeltsin was attracting broad support from other political groups.

Asked if he believed Yeltsin would win the election, Tass quoted the deputy premier as saying: "Undoubtedly."



Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto (left) and French President Jacques Chirac beg each other to take the lead down a path as other G7 leaders follow in Lyon yesterday.

G7, Russia end summit with threats over Bosnia

WORLD leaders ended their annual summit yesterday with a warning to the Bosnian Serbs and a pledge to fight terrorism and organized crime.

President Clinton pledged \$20 million yesterday to assist with recovery in Bosnia, citing a need for the United States to help erase the horrors of war in the Balkans.

Speaking at the close of the economic summit, Clinton announced a \$15 million effort to mobilize soldiers to clear land mines and a \$5 million training program for Bosnian women.

"Until that happens, no child will be able to walk in safety and life will not return to normal," Clinton said at a news conference.

The training is necessary, he said, because with so many men killed, disabled or missing, "Bosnia's future may depend more than ever on women."

He also announced the appointment of Cyrus Vance, secretary of state in the Carter administration, as the head of an international commission to help solve 12,000 missing person cases that grew out of the conflict.

"Bosnia has moved from the horror of war," Clinton said. "We've helped achieve something many thought impossible."

The Group of Seven industrial democracies and Russia, joined by the heads of four world organizations, also

launched what they called a "new partnership for development," promising to help the 40 poorest countries by easing their debt burden.

The three-day Lyon G7 summit focused on the breakneck pace of global economic change, stressing the opportunities for spreading wealth while sharing concern about the impact on jobs, welfare systems, financial stability and the Third World.

The leaders of the United States, Canada, Germany, France, Britain, Italy and Japan and their political partner Russia said this was a "historic moment to achieve security and stability around the globe" and vowed to make the most of it.

The final communique, a long list of the most urgent global challenges, threatened sanctions if Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic did not quit public life immediately and called for Bosnian elections to be held on schedule on September 14.

Meeting only a stone's throw from the headquarters of the international police organization Interpol, the leaders adopted 40 recommendations on the fight against orga-

nized crime and drug trafficking. Ministers are to meet in Paris next month to discuss more proposals on terrorism.

The summit also urged reform of the United Nations, better control of conventional arms, a global effort against infectious diseases and a coordinated push to improve the environment.

"This consultation on political issues among the eight was excellent," the summit host, French President Jacques Chirac, told journalists. "It reinforced our bonds of solidarity, mutual esteem and also of friendship."

But in a familiar lament, Chirac said the "rich men's club" formed in 1975 as an informal annual brain-storming session on the state of the world had become too formal and too much of a media event and should get back to its original simplicity.

On Friday, G7 leaders hailed globalization as a great opportunity and issued an optimistic message of sustained economic growth and agreed to ease the poorest nations' debt.

Widening their horizon, the leaders yesterday met heads of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and World Trade Organization, as well as UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali for a special session.

(See story, Page 4)

Rural Zulus shun Mandela for rival

PIETERMARITZBURG (Reuters) — The Zulu nationalist Inkatha Freedom Party has gained enormous support in rural areas in local elections across unstable KwaZulu-Natal province, despite defeats in many towns.

With many votes still to be counted, results by late yesterday from two of seven vast countryside councils showed strong Inkatha wins at the expense of its main political rival, the African National Congress (ANC).

ANC members were recovering from a Friday night party to toast their victory in Pietermaritzburg, the provincial capital, and Durban, KwaZulu-Natal's biggest city.

Early results from Wednesday's peaceful poll all went their way, with outright victory in the province's 13 largest towns. With over two-thirds of the votes counted the ANC had won 268 seats on local and regional councils in the province, and Inkatha under half that with 131.

Inkatha, which conceded it was very disappointed with its poor urban showing, was pinning its hopes on the rural vote in the election which could be critical for peace in the area.

But supporters of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's party, waiting to have their expectations

confirmed, stopped holding their breath when a computer collapse threw tallying into chaos.

Red-faced election officers said the only man who knew how to fix the system had flown back to Cape Town.

Tellers began laboriously to count the votes by hand and the officers said final results, originally scheduled on Friday, would now not be ready until tomorrow at the earliest.

"We are on our way to proving that Inkatha is the majority party in KwaZulu-Natal," Inkatha Secretary General Ziba Jiyane said yesterday.

Tight security and a political peace initiative ensured that polling day was calm in the province, where feuding between ANC and Inkatha supporters has killed 14,000 people in a decade.

President Nelson Mandela said peace could now take hold.

Buthelezi, his main black rival, won the provincial assembly in 1994's all-race general election with 50 percent of the vote. The ANC says that was only because of violence and vote-rigging.

Inkatha, which preached conservative and family values in its election campaign, draws its support from traditionalists in rural areas where they have strong ties with tribal chiefs.

Key clues found, anti-bomb measures stepped up

INVESTIGATORS have found several key clues from the bombing that killed 19 Americans, including the chassis and serial number from the fuel truck.

Saudi authorities reportedly have the license plate number and plan to release composite sketches of two suspects soon, Gulf newspapers said yesterday.

US Defense Secretary William J. Perry flew in for a brief tour of the bomb site yesterday and revealed that security had been stepped up prior to Tuesday's blast under suspicion that people were scouting out the complex housing 2,000 Americans.

Perry said additional security measures have been taken, including placing perimeter barriers 120 meters from the building, compared to 30 meters previously.

He acknowledged that US officials must assume another attack is possible. "We have to take that vulnerability very seriously," he said. "We are making our security plans as if there were other threats."

"This attack will not drive us

away. To give in would be to betray the brave airmen who died in Doha and their families," Perry told a news conference.

Earlier in the day, he told a US serviceman who asked him what the US would do to "the government behind the bombing" that "we are going to find them and punish them. I don't have any doubt about that."

He was speaking to about 200 US servicemen at the sprawling airbase.

"We will also have a much more vigorous program in intelligence and counterintelligence to identify terrorists and plots before bombings take place," he said.

At the bomb site, Perry observed the enormous crater left by the bombing and the extensive damage to the building, where huge chunks of concrete dangled from iron rods and bathnubs lay flipped over inside exposed bathrooms.

"Absolutely devastating," Perry said. "It's a wonder more people weren't hurt."

FBI agents have gathered hun-

dreds of metal parts from the truck and laid them out on three long plastic sheets in the parking lot north of the eight-storey building.

Investigators have found the truck chassis, complete with serial number, a blackened crankshaft, and a Mercedes-Benz hubcap that they think came from the same vehicle. Air Force spokesman Maj. Jim Stratford said.

Gulf newspapers also quoted Saudi officials as saying that investigators had the license number of the fuel truck.

Three leading Gulf newspapers said yesterday that witnesses gave Saudi investigators a "good description" of the two men who parked the truck, and the govern-

ment would release composite sketches shortly.

US officials say two men fled in a white, mid-1980s, Chevrolet Caprice Classic automobile — the most popular car in the kingdom.

Perry said before the blast, security had been heightened because of evidence that would-be terrorists were scouting out the complex.

He cited "suspicious actions at the Khobar Towers which suggested they might have been under surveillance."

That was one factor that led US forces to erect new fences, establish a security perimeter around the area, post lookouts on the roofs of buildings and run extra foot patrols in the area, he said.

Since the blast, Americans have been moved from exterior rooms to rooms closer to the center of

the buildings, a move he called "inconvenient but safer."

Suspicion is focused on Moslem militants who want to drive the roughly 5,000 US troops out of the kingdom, home to Islam's holiest shrines.

"Dirty tricks" adverts upset Iceland poll

REYKJAVIK (Reuters) — A series of so-called "dirty tricks" advertisements has electrified Iceland's traditionally sedate presidential election and commentators said yesterday they may have backfired on the right-wing candidate.

The nation's 340 polling stations opened at 9:00 a.m. after opinion polls showed that the gap between the leading left-wing candidate Olafur Ragnar Grimsson, a veteran, and the right-wing Petur Hafstein, a high court judge, had narrowed over the past few days.

A third candidate, former Womens Party MP Gudrun Agnarsdottir, was also catching up. The latest survey on Friday gave her 27.5 percent of the vote against Grimsson's 40.4 percent and Hafstein's 29.6 percent.

Both candidates and political analysts said the advertisements, paid for by three Icelandic businessmen to run on Thursday and Friday, may have hindered rather than helped Hafstein.

Two full-page adverts attacking Grimsson's credibility and honesty first appeared in Morgunbladið on Thursday. One page was like an examination paper, asking readers to place ticks or crosses on Grimsson's earlier promises.

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Islam-based party wins power in Turkey

AN Islamic party is set to come to power for the first time in this secular country's modern history.

Turkey's president approved the country's first Islamic-led government in 73 years, giving power to a party at odds with Turkey's Western allies.

President Suleyman Demirel's office said he had approved a coalition government joining the Islamic Welfare Party with the center-right True Path.

"God-willing... we will serve with faith and passion," Necmettin Erbakan, Welfare's leader and the new prime minister, proclaimed after meeting with the president.

The Welfare Party's triumph marks the first time an Islamic party has led Turkey since 1923, when the country won its independence following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Since then, Turkey has had a determinedly secular government despite its largely Moslem population.

Welfare's place as the coalition's senior partner may harm Turkey's close relations with the West. But the presence of True Path is expected to prevent Welfare from imposing the more

ZEYNEP ALEMDAR
ANKARA

extreme tenets of its strongly religious, anti-Western platform.

True Path's pro-Western leader, former Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, was named deputy premier and foreign minister of the coalition government. The US-educated Ciller had once promised never to join forces with the Islamic party.

Most of the crucial cabinet posts, including defense, interior, education, health and trade, went to True Path.

Welfare and True Path together control enough seats in Parliament - at least on paper - to win a vote of confidence, crucial to the government's survival. The vote is expected within 10 days.

But some True Path deputies have signaled they might vote against the coalition. Their numbers were not known. Five deputies already resigned in protest over the Welfare alliance, mandated three weeks ago after the previous coalition failed.

Ciller apparently pacified some deputies by offering cabinet posts. Newspaper reports said Erbakan would hand over power to Ciller

after two years. Erbakan said the details of the coalition deal would be made public yesterday.

Welfare won the most seats in December parliamentary elections but fell short of a majority, forcing it to find a coalition partner to govern.

Welfare's power base is among the poor. The party garnered popularity with its strong social services network, grass-roots organization and popular fight against corruption.

Turkey belongs to NATO and has a trade accord with the European Union. But Welfare has called for a military alliance among Moslem countries - an "Islamic NATO" - and supports an "Islamic Common Market."

The party opposes Turkey's military training agreement with Israel and has said the agreement would be reviewed when Welfare came to power.

The party also stands against the US-led allied force that provides air protection to Kurds in southern Turkey and northern Iraq, who have been fighting for independence from Turkey since 1984. The force's mandate, which began after the Gulf War, expires at the end of July. (AP)



Bob Dylan (left) sings on stage with Ronnie Wood during the Masters of Music concert yesterday in London's Hyde Park, staged to aid Prince Charles's Trust Charity. Some 150,000 people reportedly gathered to hear the concert, which included The Who, playing music from their rock opera 'Quadrophenia.' (Reuters)

UN chief invited to lunch by G-7 leaders, but job still threatened

LYON (AP) - Group of Seven leaders and Russia invited UN chief Boutros Boutros-Ghali to lunch for the first time yesterday, and some politely took issue with the US determination to block a second term.

Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien said he wanted the 73-year-old Egyptian diplomat to serve another five-year term, and French President Jacques Chirac and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl stopped just short of outright endorsements.

Invited by Chirac, Boutros-Ghali became the first secretary general to attend a G-7 summit and posed with the leaders for their "family photo."

The UN chief stood near one end of the lineup, near French Premier Alain Juppe and at a distance from President Clinton, whose administration has threatened to use its Security Council veto if necessary to force a change at the top of the world body.

"The United States says it wants someone who will be more vigorous in reforming the United Nations."

The issue wasn't on the summit agenda, but it was very much on the minds of participants.

"We are of the view that Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali has done a very good job under difficult circumstances and we would be happy to have him re-elected," Chretien said at his final news conference. Chirac was nearly as warm.

"Everyone knows the esteem and friendship I and all Europeans Community have toward the secretary general, who did considerable work in modernizing the institution, in reducing the costs and directing the limited means he had for the needs of our time," Chirac said.

German Chancellor Helmut Kohl stopped just short of a full endorsement, telling reporters here that "every UN secretary general has had a second term."

Most G-7 governments have refrained from publicly opposing the United States about Boutros-Ghali, although the French have indicated privately that they want him to stay on.

In their closing political statement, the G-7 leaders, joined by Russia, said they were "convinced of the need to make progress toward revitalizing, strengthening and reforming the UN system."

They issued a six-page side letter called the "Halifax Summit Follow-up" reviewing UN reform, acknowledging "with satisfaction that the principle of reform... is now widely supported."

Italian Foreign Minister Lamberto Dini, at his closing news conference, endorsed Boutros-Ghali's reforms but complained "almost nothing has been done about the agencies" to improve efficiency and cut costs.

KARLSRUHE (AP) - The chief federal prosecutor's office said yesterday it had taken over investigation of a suspected IRA mortar attack at a British Army barracks in the north-central city of Osnabrueck.

The attack at Quebec Barracks Friday evening caused no injuries but considerable property damage to military and civilian buildings and vehicles in the vicinity, officials said.

Rolf Hannich, spokesman for the chief federal prosecutor's office in Karlsruhe, said federal police were ordered to begin the investigation on suspicion those involved belonged to a terrorist organization.

"The target of the attack and the way it was carried out indicate the PIRA was involved," Hannich said. The Provisional Irish Republican Army has been tied to previous attacks against the British military in Germany.

Thus far, no one had claimed responsibility for the attack.

While the PIRA is said to have split from the IRA in the 1970s, the two groups are now con-

German federal office probes suspected IRA attack

considered the same by authorities.

In July 1995, four IRA terrorists were convicted of carrying out an attack in 1989 against the same British barracks that also resulted in serious property damage. They were sentenced to prison, then freed because of lengthy pre-trial confinement.

At a news conference on Quebec Barracks yesterday, Brigadier Richard Dannatt, the commander of the 4th Armored Brigade, said the attack "had the hallmarks of the IRA."

The attack took place at 6:50 p.m. without warning, when three mortars fired from from outside a gate at the south side of the barracks from the back of a white Ford Transit truck that was covered with a blue tarpaulin, Dannatt said.

Only one of the three home-made mortars, which Dannatt said were typical of self-made IRA weapons, exploded about 30 meters inside the barracks' fences leaving a meter-wide crater.

A second mortar landed between the two outside fences of the compound, with a third

directly next to the abandoned truck. Both had failed to detonate and were disarmed by investigators.

About 300 German residents, some with homes near the barracks that were also damaged, who were evacuated overnight to a school or stayed with friends. They returned to their homes after the mortars were disarmed.

The 4th Armored Brigade just recently returned from duty in Bosnia, along with the 21st Engineer Battalion, which is also based on Quebec Barracks.

Only some 150 of the 700 British troops who work on Quebec barracks were there when the explosion occurred. The British also occupy five other barracks in the city.

Some 4,900 British troops work at six barracks in Osnabrueck, 220 km north of Frankfurt. About 5,100 family members also live there.

Over the years, the outlawed IRA has launched attacks on British bases in Europe as part of its 25-years campaign against British rule of Northern Ireland.

Ugandans vote in first parliamentary election in 16 years

KAMPALA (AP) - Government ministers and supporters of President Yoweri Museveni appeared yesterday to be winning most of the seats in Uganda's first parliamentary elections in 16 years.

With results from 180 of the 214 constituencies voting in Thursday's elections, 15 of Museveni's current 21 ministers won seats.

Military officers, police and other officials of Museveni's National Resistance Movement also were said to have won. All 814 candidates ran as individuals for the non-party parliament.

Parties are legal in the East African nation, but the 1995 constitution - Museveni's brainchild - bans party politicking in elections. Voters will have another chance in 2000 to vote on whether they like this system.

Interim Electoral Commission spokesman David Byakutaaga said all results should be in by today. Final results were delayed because some voting sheets had to be returned for verification.

In the northern third of the country, home to former presidents Idi Amin and Milton Obote, voters supported candidates known to identify with Obote's Uganda Peoples Congress or unsuccessful candidate Paul Ssemogerere.

In many rural areas of the country where 50 percent turnout was reported, people took to the streets dancing and cheering the victory of their candidates late Friday.

Dominican campaign slides into mudslinging

SANTO DOMINGO (AP) - The two men vying to succeed longtime Dominican Republic President Joaquin Balaguer are slinging mud as the campaign winds down to today's vote.

Running virtually even in recent polls, attorney Leonel Fernandez and veteran politician Jose Francisco Pena Gomez have all but given up explaining their platforms.

Fernandez accuses Pena Gomez of trying to boost a losing campaign by raising the specter of vote fraud. Pena Gomez says Fernandez paved the way for fraud by accepting the endorsement of Balaguer, widely considered reluctant to surrender power.

Balaguer, president for 22 of the past 30 years, is to step down Aug. 16. He agreed to cut his seventh four-year term in half to end protests that he stole the 1994 election from Pena Gomez.

Pena Gomez, head of the social democratic Dominican Revolutionary Party, and Fernandez, of the Dominican Liberation Party, were the top vote-getters in the first ballot May 16.

Vice President Jacinto Peynado, of the Social Christian Reformist Party, received a lukewarm endorsement from Balaguer and was eliminated.

On June 2, Balaguer joined forces with an

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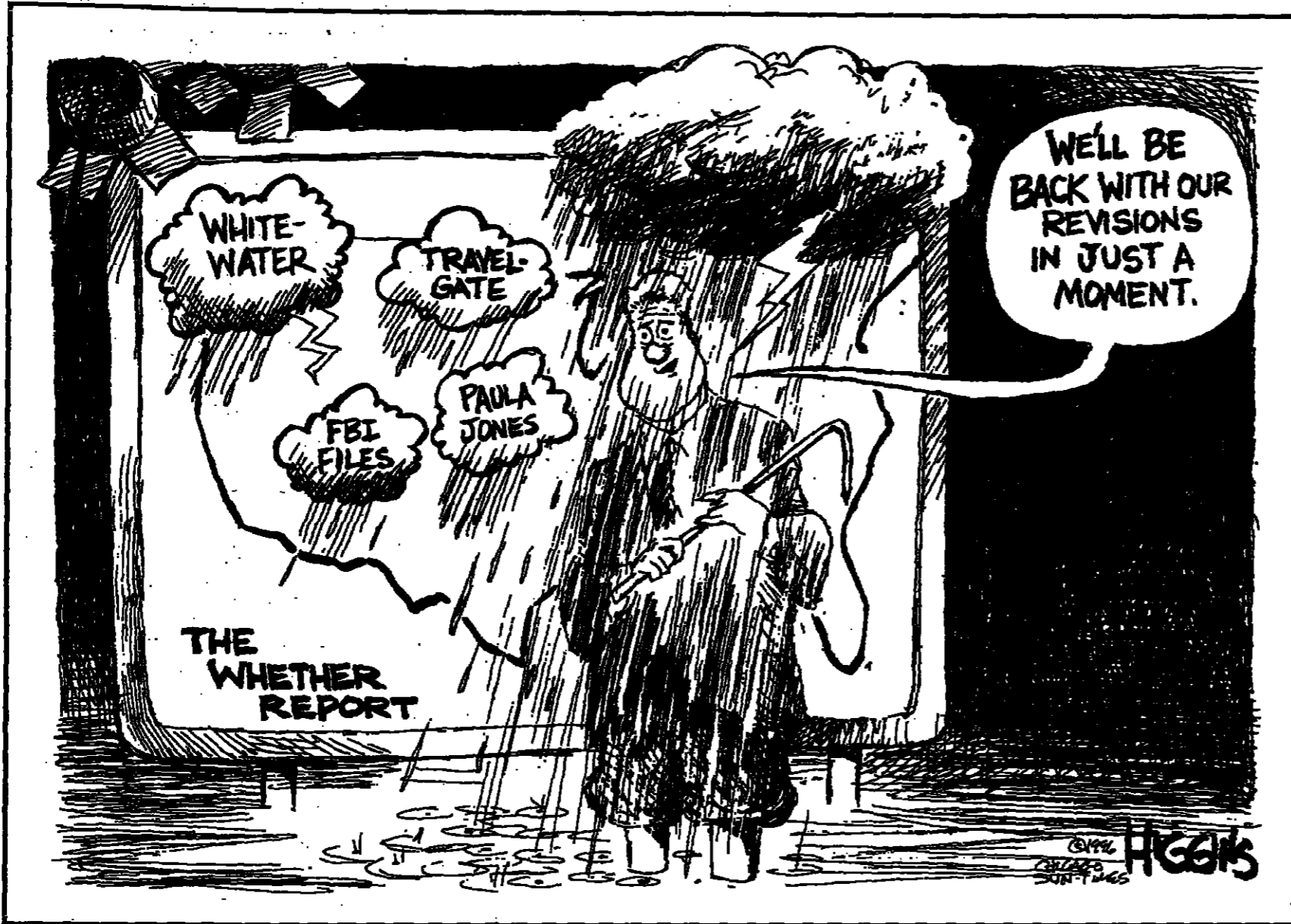
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AMERICAN OUTLOOK

Sunday, June 30, 1996



Dole, Whitewater, cigarettes and Pinocchio

By Alan Dershowitz

As the Republicans seek to make "character" an issue in the presidential campaign by suggesting that some associates of President and Mrs. Clinton may not have been entirely truthful in their Whitewater testimony, an issue of blatant untruthfulness has emerged from the Dole camp.

Recently, an aide to Sen. Dole handed out a press release purporting to quote Vice President Al Gore as agreeing with Sen. Dole's absurd statement questioning the proven link between tobacco smoking and cancer. The Dole press release quoted Gore as saying that "there is no proven link between smoking and lung cancer, and if you look closely at the scientific data, you have to admit that there are uncertainties." Sure sounds like Gore has joined Dole in siding with the killer tobacco industry.

When Vice President Gore heard about the quote attributed to him, he went ballistic. This is understandable, since Al Gore's only sister died of lung cancer and he has been a strong opponent of the cigarette industry.

How then, could he have made the statement attributed to him? Did he, in fact, utter the words quoted in the Dole press release? Yes, he did. But in an entirely opposite context from that suggested in the Dole handout. What Gore actually said on "Nightline" was that some tobacco company scientists "will claim with a straight face that there is no proven link between cigarette smoking and lung cancer..." Then after acknowledging some uncertainties, he continued: "We don't know exactly how smoking causes lung cancer, but the weight of the evidence accepted by the overwhelming preponderance of scientists is yes, smoking does cause lung cancer, and so we act on that knowledge from the scientific community."

It is clear, therefore, that the Dole campaign attributed precisely the opposite view to Gore than the one he had expressed. The Dole campaign purported to quote Gore as saying that there is no proven link between smoking and cancer, when, in fact, Gore said that "yes, smoking does cause lung cancer."

The Dole campaign thus issued a direct lie about Gore's views. That lie was exacerbated by the use of Gore's own words wrenched out of context to mean exactly the opposite of what they said. The closest analogy is to what the KGB used to do when it doctored photographs of one person doing something wrong, and then juxtaposed the head of another person on the offending body.

Vice President Gore understated the seriousness of the lie when he characterized the episode as "the politics of Pinocchio." Pinocchio merely fibbed. The Dole campaign told a deliberate lie. And it was a stupid lie to boot. Anyone with an IQ in excess of room temperature would know that the truth would eventually emerge, but political campaigns often follow the old rule that a lie will cross the finish line before the truth has laced up its running shoes.

As the Whitewater disclosures, leaks and innuendo persist, this tobacco episode should be kept in mind by all Americans concerned for the truth. Half-truths — such as the one which quoted half of what Gore had said — are even more dangerous than out-and-out lies, because the half-truth, like the doctored photograph, relies on false indicia of credibility to enhance its persuasiveness.

The report of the Senate Whitewater committee is full of partial truths, innuendoes and exaggerations. This should not be surprising, considering that its chairman — Sen. Al D'Amato — is among the most 'ethically challenged.'

The report of the Senate Whitewater committee is full of partial truths, innuendoes and exaggerations. This should not be surprising, considering that its chairman — Sen. Al D'Amato — is among the most "ethically challenged" members of the Senate (to borrow an apt phrase from Deputy White House Counsel Mark Fabiani), and is also one of Bob Dole's campaign chairmen. The public should demand of the Republicans, what it quite properly demands of the president and the first lady, the whole truth. We must remember that two half-truths do not a whole truth make.

Part of the problem is with our current defamation laws, which are unclear about the status of a half-truth. Recently, I was the victim of a series of televised half-truths by a master of the art, Charles Grodin. He showed his audience a series of excerpts from my appearances on his other shows that were edited just like the Dole campaign's scissor job on Gore. Because the words he used were mine, I had no legal recourse, even though they were taken completely out of context and distorted what I had actually said. I was able to answer Grodin in the marketplace of ideas. Many other victims of such half-truths are not as fortunate.

I guess the best advice to the public — whether it is listening to campaign rhetoric, watching a TV talk show or reading a congressional report — is caveat emptor and know your source. With certain emptors, however, all the caveats in the world may not be enough.

Alan M. Dershowitz is a professor of law at Harvard University. His newest book is "Reasonable Doubts" (Simon & Schuster).

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The Big Escape

'Abroad, a first lady is treated like a lady'

By Matthew Cooper

There aren't too many people who pack up the kid in July, leave town and head for... Poland. As tourist destinations go, Warsaw doesn't rank up there with, say, Wellfleet. But Hillary Rodham Clinton is on her way to Eastern Europe for a Tour de Democracies. You have to wonder: What will she teach these fledgling free nations? The American tradition of depositions? The Western way of dismissing career employees?

This isn't really a vacation for Hillary. It's an escape from the Whitewater piranhas. Bob Dole has had the discretion not to mention her much by name. His surrogates do it for him. The Senate Whitewater report, courtesy of Al D'Amato, with its charge that the first lady hid her billing records and presided over the mishandling of papers in the wake of the death of Vincent Foster, guarantees that she'll remain a target. On the House side, William Clinger, the head of the House Government Reform Committee looking into Travelgate, says he suspects Hillary had a role in the 400-plus FBI files that wound up at the White House. These days, all roads lead not to the president, but to Hillary. Suddenly, the White House's strategy of putting out an apple-pie issue a week is useless. Who cares about curfews and school uniforms when there's an FBI scandal?

Will Hillary bring down Bill? That it's even a possibility spoken aloud is extraordinary. What must it feel like for her? She's wanted a public platform her whole life. Now, she finds friendly faces only at college commencements, Democratic conclaves and Polish auditoriums. With a Methodist missionary's zeal, she tried to remake the country's health care. The heathen wouldn't listen. Her spectacular failure gave birth to Speaker Newt and his chorus of House freshmen and made her the issue. Hillary's breathtakingly awful political sense in 1994 meant that she would have been an issue in 1996 even if she'd kept out of trouble. But she hasn't. No wonder she's leaving town. Abroad, a first lady is treated like a lady.

There's only one person who understands Hillary. Hell, what it's like to have once led a crusade and now find yourself with a sock stuck in your mouth. No, not Bill "I feel your pain" Clinton. It's Newt Gingrich. As different as they may seem, Newt and Hillary are soulmates.

bound by an eerily similar rise and fall. They are the Pariahs of the Year. Each thought he or she was on a moral crusade to change Washington. Their orbits were replete with spiritual gurus: Ira Magaziner, the Tofflers. Each was, at first, lionized. Remember the fawning way Hillary was treated when she first testified about health care before Congress in 1993? Even the GOP members seemed charmed. Gingrich, too, once appeared invincible. Little did anyone know that Time's Man of the Year would see his revolution crash and burn. Today, many GOP froth don't want Newt anywhere near their districts. He, too, has hit the road, speaking at quiet fund-raisers with far less fanfare over anyone in high office. His hell is watching his minions abandon him just when the great battle is beginning.

Victims of their own hubris, neither the First Lady nor the Speaker understood bipartisanship. Yes, Hillary reached out to moderate Republicans hoping to woo them to her plan. But the plan itself had been drawn up without major GOP say. Likewise, Newt refused to sign on to more moderate Medicare curbs proposed by centrists of both parties. The result was that health care died, and the Gingrich agenda stalled. "These people don't understand," a Democratic senator told me. "You either pass bills with eighty votes or they die with forty. Rarely, can you pull it off with fifty-one." One commands the center or fails utterly.

The collapse of Hillary and Newt leaves Clinton and Dole in a strange place. Clinton is the victim of his first two years — tax hikes and gays in the military, yes, but mostly of the legacy of RodhamCare. Hillary was once Clinton's political muse, his lodestar. It was her idea in 1992 to form the famed "War Room" and to put James Carville in charge of the campaign when it was rudderless. In 1994, she urged him to bring on Dick Morris. Now, Morris is Clinton's lodestar, the man who has come up with a series of small, popular issues that allow Clinton to look tough, thoughtful. You don't hear much about Hillary's power anymore because it's diminished, inside the White House as well as out. Clintonism is now about executive orders, "leveraging" the private sector to come up with the V-chip. Hillary was about the Hail Mary pass. Morris is about three yards and a cloud of dust.

For the rest of the campaign, Dole and Clinton will try to escape their burdens. Dole is trying to put some daylight between himself and the radioactive Newt. That's what resigning from

the Senate was all about. But like Zelig, Newt managed to get in the picture — literally. Dole can't bring himself to edge away from Newt's policies even while he puts physical distance between himself and the Georgian. His challenge now is to show more of his bighearted side, gently elbowing Newt away.

For its part, Team Dole will remind folks of Clinton's spouse. The president will have no choice but to defend her. How difficult that becomes will depend on Whitewater. Anyone who says they know where the scandal will go next is kidding. But there are a few guidelines worth thinking about. The Arkansas land deal itself no longer seems so important. The Senate committee didn't get any real traction when it came to events in Arkansas. And its charge that Mrs. Clinton moved her billing records around the White House remains unsubstantiated, as committee Democrats — solidly united — have duly noted. Besides, the records buttress more than they refute what the first lady has been saying — that her work on behalf of Madison Guarantee was minimal.

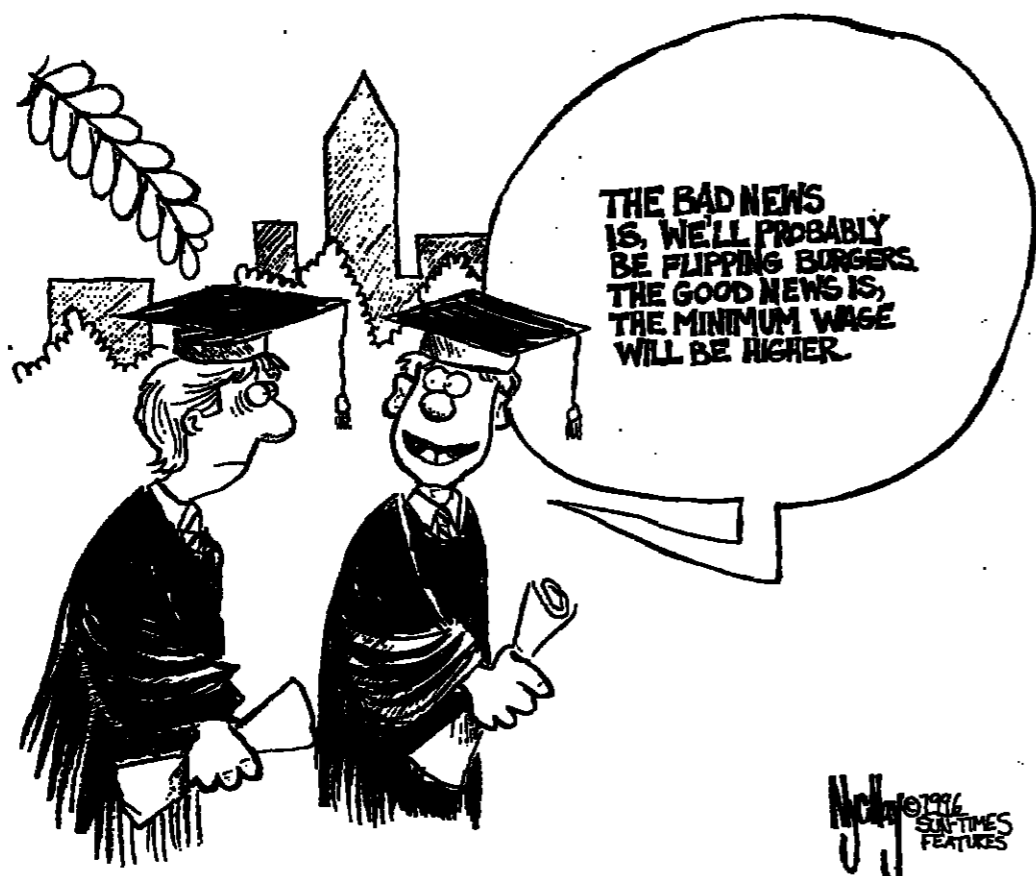
No, the real trouble is Travelgate. What did Mrs. Clinton have to do with the dismissal of career employees? She's admitted only to a general statement of concern over reports that the travel office folks were on the take — reports later dismissed by a jury. The White House strategy remains simple. Keep accusing critics of partisanship and hope Americans grow bored. Internal White House polls show little slippage since this latest surge of Whitewater, even though public polls show otherwise. Friends of the first lady predict the issue will fade away. Still, questions linger.

Washington is a tough city for visionaries like Newt or Hillary. Their messianic talk of transformation doesn't wear well in a city where the most successful sorts are content with the prose of governing rather than the poetry of deliverance. In the coming months, there will be much moaning about a "boring" Dole-Clinton race. But the idea of having two centrist dealmakers duke it out is not without its appeal. Hillary and Newt are proof of just how unappetizing the alternative can be.

Matthew Cooper is a senior editor of The New Republic.

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EDITORIAL CARTOONS



Supreme Court Justice argues with her own court opinion

BY JEFFREY ROSEN

Poor Justice O'Connor! For the past three years, she's struggled ineffectually to split the difference between four liberal Justices, who think that the Constitution doesn't prevent the states from drawing voting districts on the basis of race, and four conservative Justices, who think it does. But last week, in two landmark cases striking down majority black congressional districts in Texas and North Carolina, she found an ingenious solution to her dilemma. She wrote an opinion for the Court suggesting that the Voting Rights Act might be unconstitutional, and then filed a separate concurrence to her own opinion reassuring everyone that she thinks the Act actually isn't unconstitutional. At last, O'Connor has found a Justice she can agree with.

But it's hard to be very amused by Justice O'Connor's contortions, which have created a voting rights jurisprudence that's both analytically unintelligible and politically indefensible. Three years ago, in *Shaw v. Reno*, O'Connor declared for the first time that minority districts with "bizarre" shapes might violate the Constitution because they "segregate" voters on the basis of race. She was widely derided for failing to identify a clear constitutional injury to the individual white voters placed in majority black districts.

As Pam Karlan of the University of Virginia argued, the white "filler people" chosen to integrate black districts are the group least likely to have been segregated, or even personally classified, on the basis of race: in North Carolina, the state didn't care whether the non-black voters were Caucasian, Hispanic, Asian or purple-polka-dotted. Moreover, O'Connor's conclusion, that a white voter can't be adequately represented in a black majority district, seemed impossible to reconcile with O'Connor's premise, that white voters don't think and vote alike.

Shaw v. Reno was a theoretical mess, but O'Connor could have made it easier to administer in practice. As Richard Pildes of the University of Michigan argued, O'Connor might have helped the states avoid the "expressive harms" of weirdly shaped districts by requiring them to draw compact districts, mathematically quantified and objectively defined. But O'Connor refused to take this logical step. Last June, in *Miller v. Johnson*, she joined the four con-

servative Justices who held that majority black districts were presumptively unconstitutional, whether or not they looked "bizarre," as long as race was the "predominant factor" motivating the legislature that drew them.

Taken literally, this new test threatened to invalidate the Voting Rights Act. Intended as a remedy for racially polarized black voting, the act, as amended in 1982, has been construed to require states to draw districts where blacks constitute a majority. But O'Connor declared last week that she doesn't want to invalidate the Act after all.

How, then, did she plan to reconcile her conflicting impulses? In the recent Texas case, the state argued matter-of-factly that race wasn't the "predominant factor": influencing the shape of the three black districts in Texas: if it had been, the districts could have been as compact and elliptical as a 10-gallon hat. Instead, the shape of the districts was distorted by political, not racial considerations — namely, the desire of white Democratic incumbents in the surrounding districts to keep enough black voters to protect their seats.

Once again, however, O'Connor abruptly shifted gears: in her opinions last week, she resurrected her original focus on appearances rather than racial motives. A bizarrely shaped-district, she announced in an almost indecipherable sentence, "is part of the constitutional problem insofar as it disrupts nonracial bases of political identity and thus intensifies the emphasis on race." But in fact, as Justices Stevens and Souter emphasized in their powerful (and unanswered) dissents, it's O'Connor herself who has "intensified the emphasis on race" in the districting process. In the wake of her latest opinions, black districts have to be elegantly compact, while white districts can be as bizarrely shaped as Jim Carrey.

Is there any way to put Justice O'Connor's contortions in a more charitable light? The truth is that her concern about the aesthetics of districting isn't entirely misguided. But in her overheated rhetoric about "segregation" and "apartheid," O'Connor has missed the real scandal of the modern districting process: partisan gerrymandering, of which racial gerrymandering is only one egregious part. In the 1980s, Richard Pildes discovered, both black and white districts became much more weirdly shaped than they had been in the past. This reflected, to some degree, the increasingly byzantine

requirements of the Voting Rights Act; but it also reflected the rise of sophisticated computer technology, which allowed representatives to choose their constituents with Orwellian precision. The Texas legislature, for example, consulted Census data, tabulated block-by-block and sometimes house-by-house, to diagnose the political, ethnic and demographic preferences of individual voters. The result was 29 safe seats out of 30.

If the Court is determined to continue policing the excesses of racial gerrymandering, it should, as Justice Stevens indicated, begin policing the excesses of political gerrymandering as well. Safe districts created for Democrats or Republicans send the same message as safe districts created for blacks or Germans: Voters rightly perceive that their preferences are being tabulated and manipulated by the self-interested maneuvering of partisan politicians. Bizarrely shaped districts are troubling not because, as O'Connor suggested, they send an inaccurate message that all black and white voters think alike. Instead, they send an all-too-accurate message: that representatives are ignoring objective districting considerations, like geography and contiguity, and instead predicting, with the precision of a Johnnie Cochran jury selection, just how individual constituents are likely to vote. These computer-enhanced predictions offend our sense of fairness, democratic autonomy, and perhaps even respect for the individual, not because they're lazy stereotypes, but because they're so chillingly on the mark.

By recognizing that partisan gerrymandering and racial gerrymandering are two sides of the same coin, the Court might put useful pressure states to take self-dealing legislators out of the districting process entirely. In New Jersey, for example, a citizen initiative recently put the districting process into the hands of a bipartisan commission, whose recommendations have to be accepted or rejected by the legislature as a package. Unfortunately, our least decisive Justice announced a few years ago that she doesn't think political gerrymanders should be second-guessed by judges, no matter how bizarre the districts look, because of the dangers of interjecting courts into the political thick- et. Let's hope that, once again, she decides to disagree with herself.

Jeffrey Rosen is legal affairs editor of *The New Republic*.

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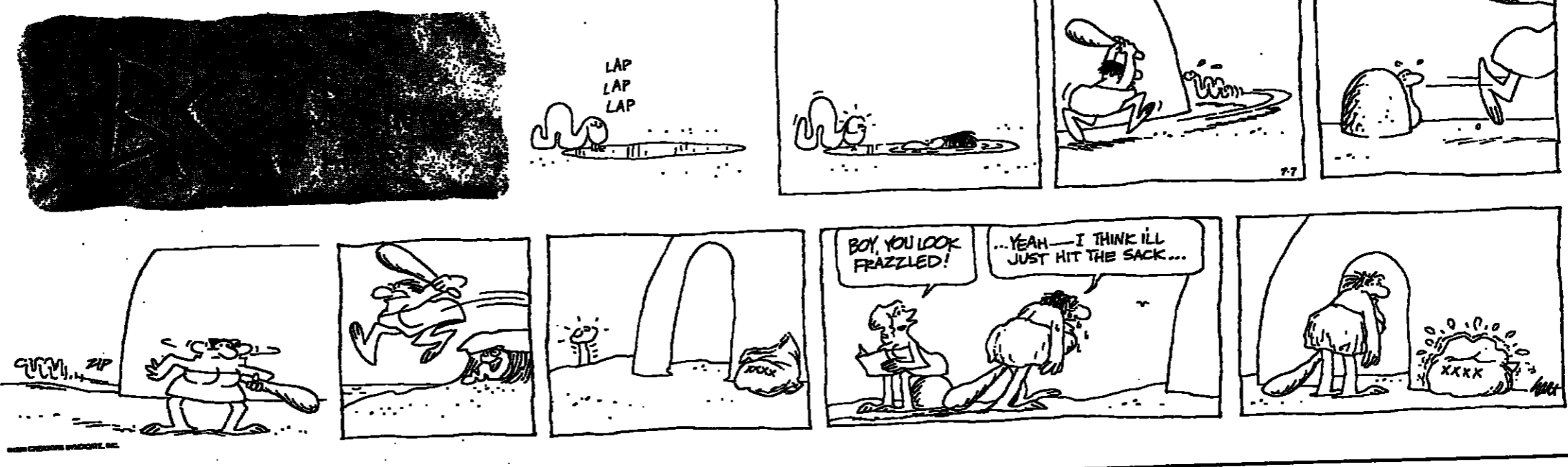
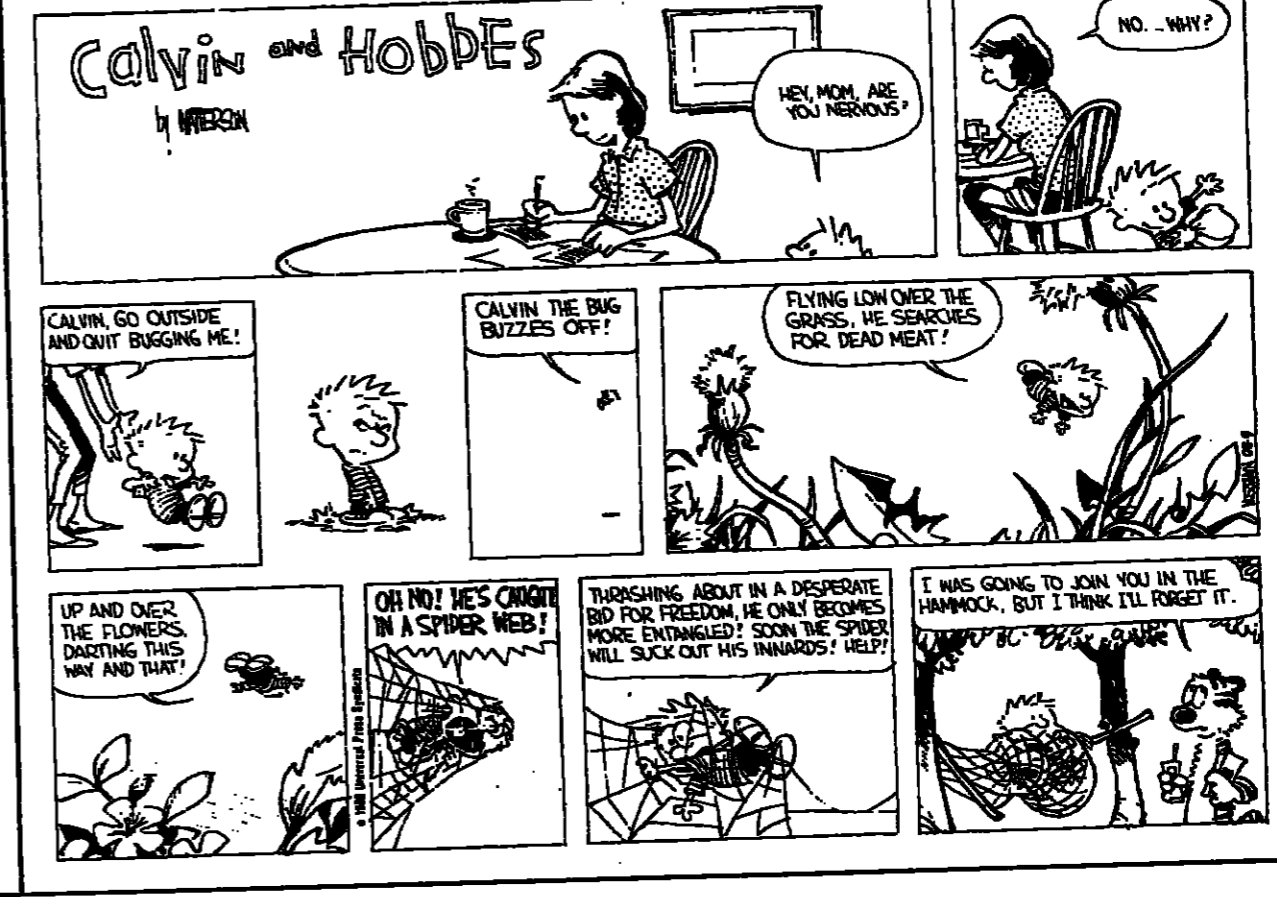
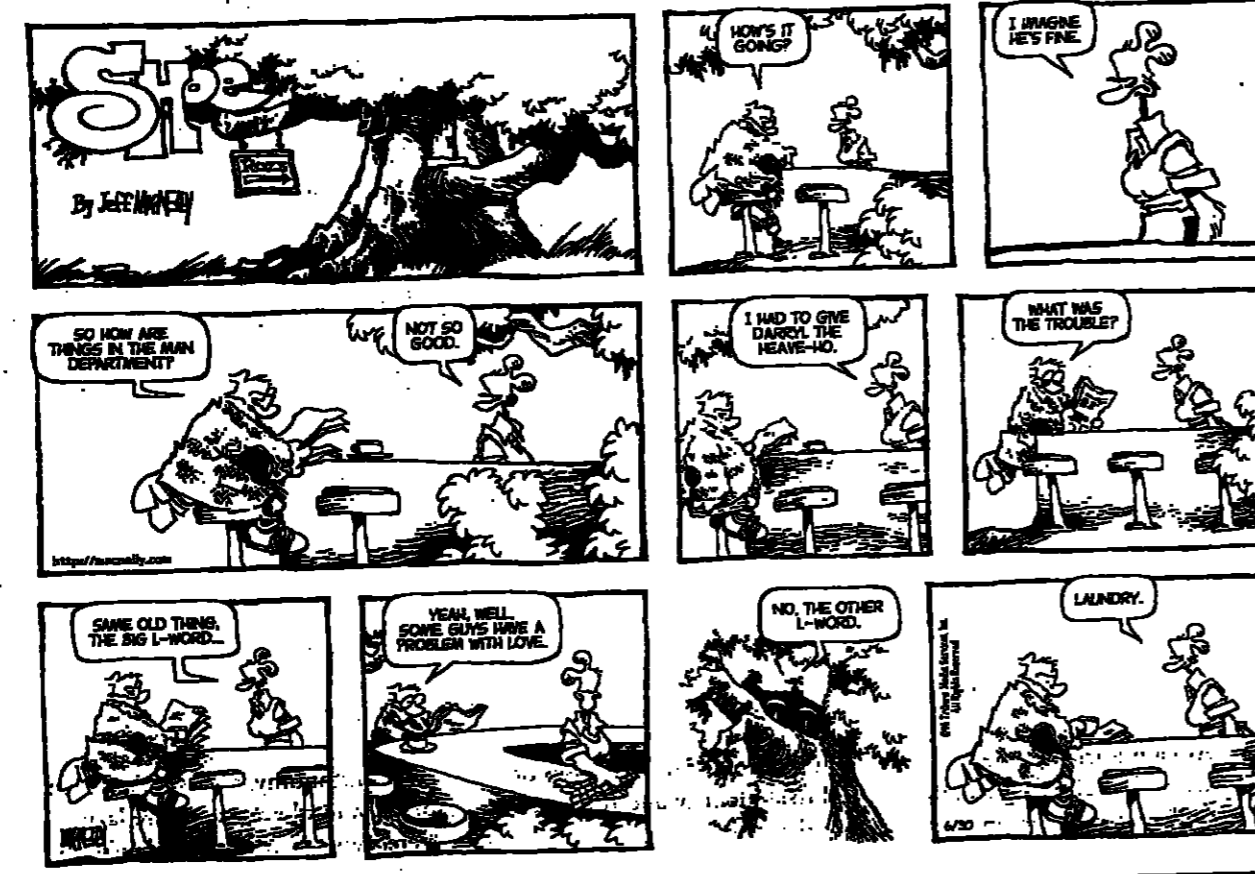
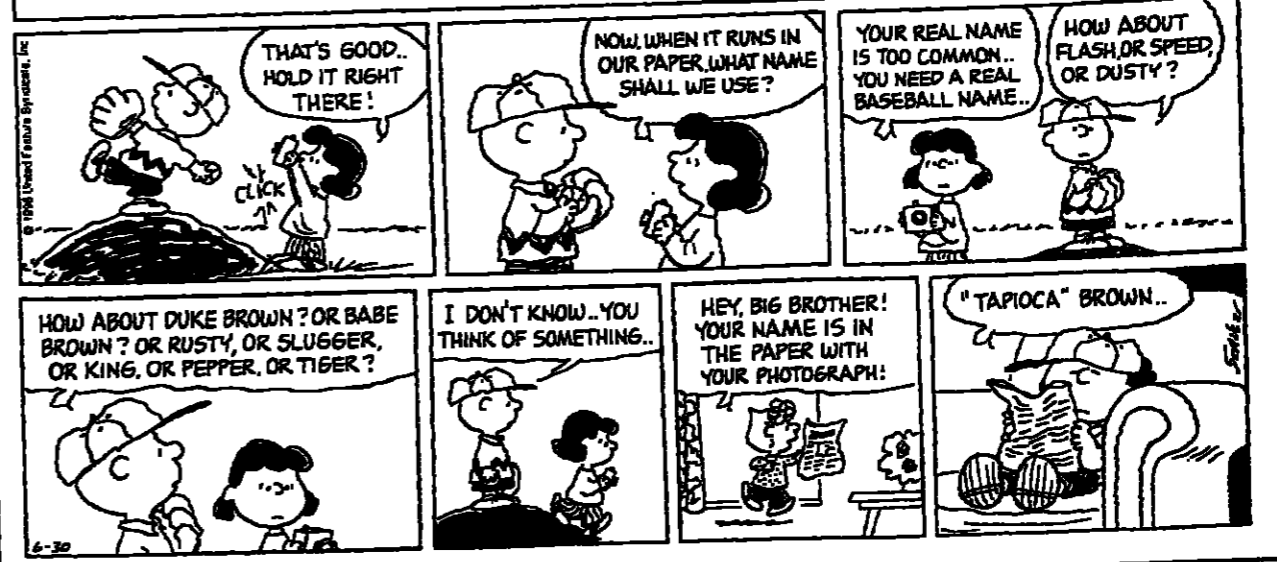
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SUNDAY COMICS

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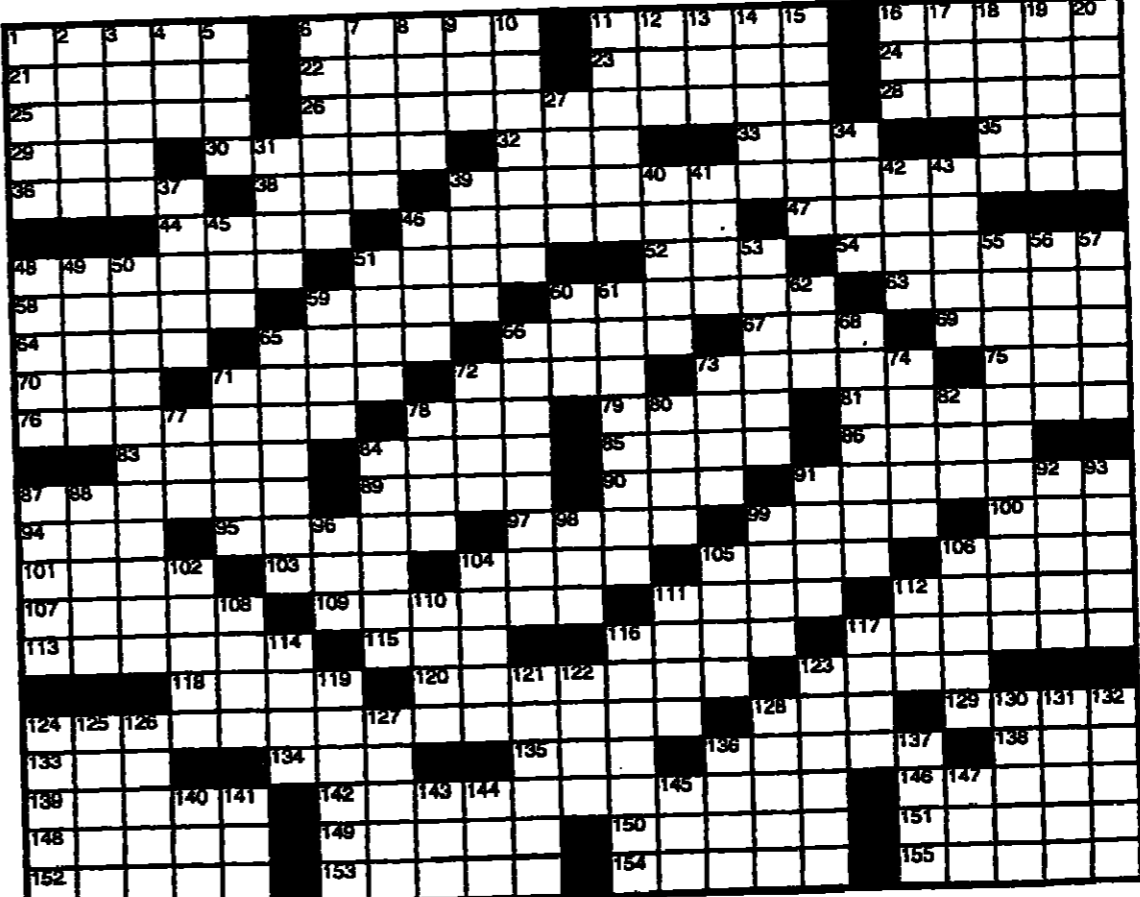


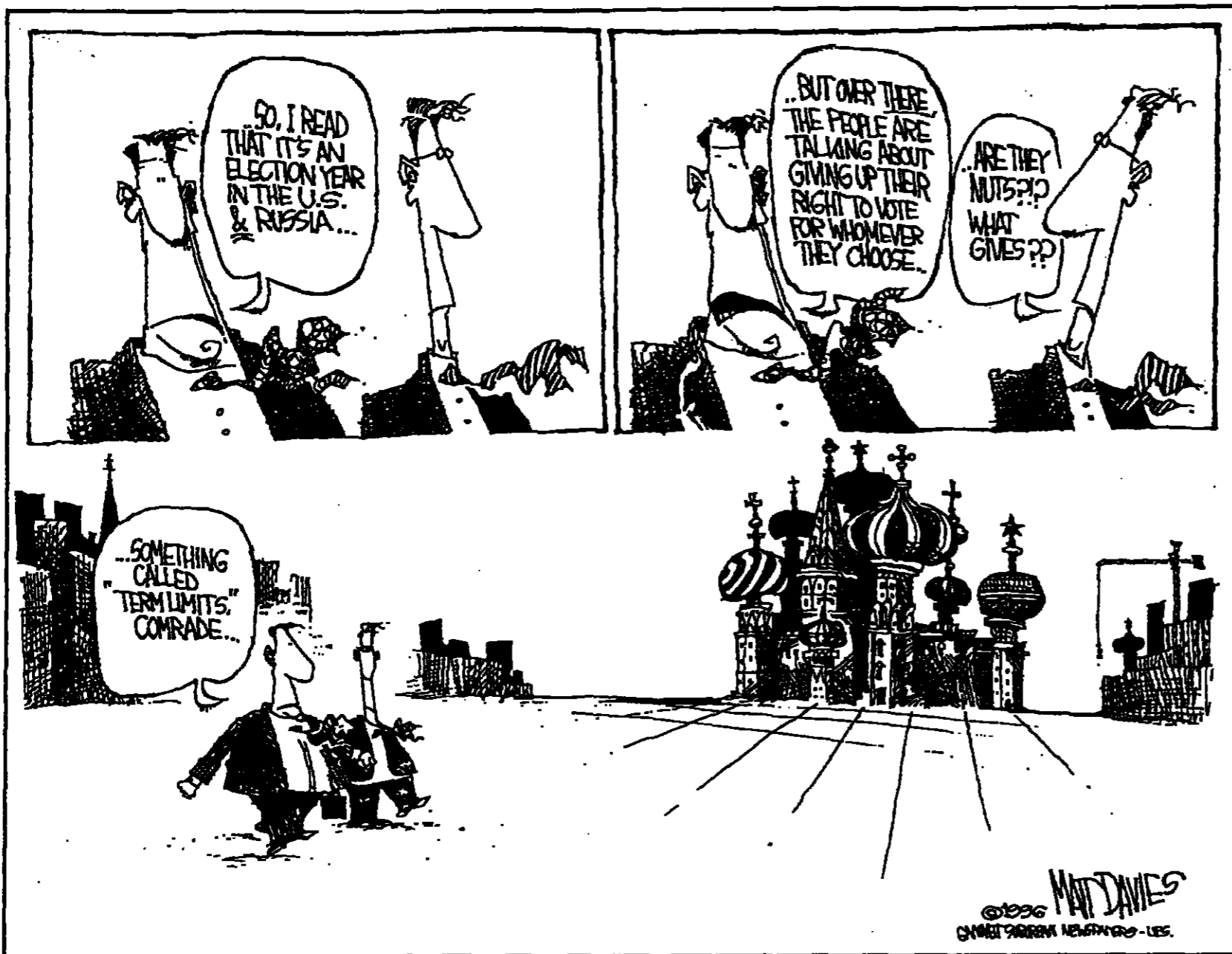
PEANUTS BY SEVILLE



TODAY'S SUNDAY PUZZLE

- ACROSS**
- 1 System president
 - 6 Lay out in a new pattern
 - 11 Animal track
 - 16 Zodiac sign
 - 21 Cauldron
 - 23 San Antonio strina
 - 24 Sponge
 - 24 Of the kidneys
 - 25 Rich cake
 - 26 Medicinal tree bark
 - 26 Terns —
 - 28 Work unit
 - 30 Give a narcotic to
 - 32 Actress Mary —
 - 33 Poet's monogram
 - 35 — Tin Tin
 - 36 Profound
 - 36 Papa Cartright
 - 38 Rodgers and Hammerstein musical
 - 44 Crucible
 - 46 Golf club
 - 47 Swiss pastor Paul —
 - 48 Ripe
 - 51 Lamin
 - 52 Lure hormone
 - 54 Agitated state
 - 59 Heavy wood
 - 60 Folk singer Bess
 - 61 Sound system
 - 63 Lame —
 - 64 Gollywog start
 - 65 Meas
 - 66 What?
 - 67 Equip
 - 68 Georgia senator
 - 70 Patron of Gabor
 - 71 Actress Tyns —
 - 72 Helsinki native
 - 73 Singing brooms
 - 75 "Sometimes you love me a —"
 - 76 Parish priest's residence
 - 78 — voyage?
 - 79 Dry
 - 81 Maine National
- DOWN**
- 1 Emulated Jeff
 - 2 Coast
 - 3 Seattle Bailey's nee
 - 4 Litterer or Carney
 - 5 Colored (eggs)
 - 6 Abroad
 - 7 Columnist Goodman
 - 8 Heat worker
 - 9 Electric unit
 - 10 Wall-head
 - 11 Fastness
 - 12 Saddle a bill
 - 13 Lyric poem
 - 14 Eyed amorously
 - 15 Comment
 - 16 Circle part
 - 17 Classic car
 - 18 Musical opening
 - 19 Dine at home
 - 20 Street talk
 - 27 God of love
 - 31 Reed instrument
 - 34 Drag
 - 37 Type of Danish
 - 38 Kiki's brand
 - 40 Sea duck
 - 41 Hind part
 - 42 Anthropologist
 - 43 — Hall University
 - 45 Jazz Kid
 - 46 Bird's call
 - 48 Versa rhythm
 - 49 Overhead
 - 50 Eskimo Caldwel novel
 - 51 Sacred
 - 53 Riddle
 - 55 Fiddle pattern
 - 56 Bonanza
 - 57 — — car
 - 59 Summer month
 - 60 Transgression
 - 61 Back-to-slowness
 - 62 Lubricate
 - 65 Robert Blake role
 - 66 Table tennis
 - 68 Fashion magazine
 - 71 "20/20" character
 - 72 Bubbles
 - 73 Small creature
 - 74 Desecrated
 - 77 Mel — cocktail
 - 78 "G" —
 - 80 Wealthy
 - 82 Boat
 - 84 German prison camp
 - 87 Attorney —
 - 88 Rut's mother-in-law
 - 89 Actress Portman
 - 92 Chair up
 - 93 Gathered (leaves)
 - 98 Cover
 - 98 Map abbr.
 - 99 Sodium chloride
 - 102 Detroit player
 - 104 Painter's prop
 - 105 Carline treat
 - 106 Japanese fish dish
 - 108 Actress Patricia —
 - 110 Painter Chagall
 - 111 Lascivious look
 - 112 Passenger vehicle
 - 114 Forest unit
 - 116 Explosive device
 - 117 Engraved
 - 119 Separated
 - 121 Crime
 - 122 Reveler's cry
 - 123 Gobi or Sahara
 - 124 Electric unit
 - 125 Make a speech
 - 126 Bring together
 - 127 Border
 - 128 Less common
 - 130 Send in (a payment)
 - 131 More than enough
 - 132 Actor Randy —
 - 136 Melody
 - 137 Engrave
 - 140 Male life
 - 141 High card
 - 143 Killy
 - 144 Paris summer
 - 145 Ice-hockey team
 - 147 Cry of discovery





Russians indecisive over age-old contest

BY CHARLES LANE

Boris Yeltsin's 35 percent first-place total in Russia's first-round election means that, when presented with a full menu of political choices, including the reactionary communism of Gennadi Zyuganov, the clownish fascism of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and the liberal reformism of Grigory Yavlinsky, two-thirds of Russian voters said no to the incumbent president favored by the Clinton administration. Can you blame them? At best, Yeltsin represented the least scary in a scary field. For all his financial and political support from the West, Yeltsin has compiled a pockmarked record as a reformer and modernizer. And he's gotten worse over the last 18 months, reacting to resurgent nationalist and communist strength with a clumsy brand of "me-tooism" — most disastrously by prosecuting a brutal war in Chechnya.

UPSIDE

But let us focus — for a moment — on the upside. It is also true that over two-thirds of the electorate rejected Zyuganov's Communist Party and its warmed-over Stalinism. Alarmists in Russia who feared a Communist victory — and hence counseled scrapping the vote — underestimated their own people. A plurality of Russians chose the representatives of a painful, uncertain present over those peddling nostalgia. In this regard, at least, the political development of Russia may not lag so far behind the former Soviet satellites of Eastern Europe which have elected their own (more fully reconstructed) Communists.

Perhaps the results are best interpreted as a snapshot of Russia's deep political muddle. This is a country whose people, reeling from half a decade of revolutionary change, don't quite know where they want to go. They remain torn by an age-old contest between Westernizers and Slavophiles. There is no consensus as to whether capitalism's bracing but risky climate is better than the suffocating but secure one of state socialism. And there is not really even a consensus as to whether democracy is a binding condition governing political life or simply a rhetoric meant to appease the out-

side world — especially since the man in charge often acts as if he isn't sure himself.

Nevertheless, in the inevitable ebb and flow of revolution, reform and reaction, the tendency toward reaction seems to have crested, well short of triumph. The nightmare scenario — a resurgent Communist Russia that attempts, somehow, to restore the Soviet Union — has, in all likelihood, been avoided. This fragmented election's most likely outcome is a

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tactical reshuffling in which Yeltsin buys a second-round victory over Zyuganov by sharing power with the most popular of his non-Communist rivals: Yavlinsky, and former general Alexander Lebed, who polled 15 percent of the vote with subterranean help from the Yeltsin campaign, and whom Yeltsin has now placed in charge of the powerful national security council.

DOWNSIDE

Yavlinsky is a grotesquely ambitious but intellectually committed liberal, while Lebed seems to favor a Pinochetian blend of free-market economics and, well, Pinochetian politics. Governed by such men, post-election Russia is likely to maintain its general, halting, move toward economic liberalization while persisting in blockheaded attempts to control the internal demons of ethnic strife and crime. It will also likely express its pretensions to great power status through anti-Western dalliances with the likes of Iran and China.

In short, despite prophecies that Russia would spin off in a radically new, potentially disastrous, direction, the Russia of the next few

years appears likely to resemble the Russia of the past few. The United States, and its allies, can live with it. Clintonites seemed barely able to contain their glee at Yeltsin's probable political survival, which is so closely linked to their own. And perhaps they do have a right to breathe easier. But if Yeltsin's victory, and his budding alliance with General Lebed, represents a Clinton foreign policy success, it also marks a final defeat for the exuberant, hopeful view of Russia still current when Bill Clinton, Warren Christopher and Strobe Talbott came to power.

For many Russian liberals, that defeat occurred more than a year ago, with Yeltsin's mindless, savage expedition into Chechnya. But now it has been ratified. Russian politics seems to be finding its equilibrium somewhere in the neighborhood of plebiscitarian Czarism. This weakened state has neither the intention nor the capability to seriously damage the West. But it also lacks the intention or the capability to emulate the West, or even to act in concert with it, very much. Rather, Russia's leaders can be expected to pursue an agenda based upon a traditional, unapologetic understanding of national interest. With that in mind, the Clinton administration should prepare to do the same.

Charles Lane is a senior editor of The New Republic.

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Former officials split over the Filegate suit

BY ROBERT NOVAK

As much as \$1 billion may be sought in a contemplated class-action lawsuit against Clinton personnel security aides, but former Reagan and Bush administration officials are split over whether to go to court now. They claim their privacy was violated when the White House obtained their confidential FBI files.

Richard Breeden, former chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission and now a New York-based financier, is a leading hawk pushing for a lawsuit. The hawks want to force the Justice Department to decide whether to defend the White House staffers. But former Bush aide James Cicconi is urging caution, advising his colleagues to wait until the FBI files affair has undergone congressional scrutiny.

A footnote: A lawyer for Paula Jones, plaintiff in a sexual-harassment lawsuit against President Clinton, placed a call Wednesday to a Bush official who was listed in newspapers as interested in suing the Clinton aides. The call was not returned.

COMPLACENT WHITE HOUSE

Democratic politicians, including members of Congress, complain that the White House is not sufficiently concerned that the FBI files flap menaces election prospects for Clinton and Democrats generally.

Clinton loyalists on Capitol Hill grumble that White House strategy on this touchy problem has been put in the hands of a mid-level staffer without political experience: Jane Sherburne, a 45-year-old special counsel to the president. She came to the White House last year to work on Whitewater problems.

Democrats outside the White House feel that the files affair is potentially more dangerous than Whitewater because people better understand what is at stake. Some say the issue is so sensitive that the president should name a prestigious Democratic elder, such as Robert Strauss or Charles Manatt, to oversee the problem.

HANDS-ON LOTT

Senior Republican staffers in the Senate were stunned this week to receive telephone calls proposing ways to break legislative deadlock, not from the new Senate majority leader's staff but from the new leader himself, Sen. Trent Lott.

These staffers seldom dealt with Bob Dole during his 11 years as Lott's predecessor. He was removed from his own aides, much less those of other senators or Senate committees. The bargaining was done by Dole's powerful chief of staff, Sheila Burke.

No sooner had Lott replaced Dole than he was on the telephone seeking a way to revive stalled legislation. He is even attempting to resuscitate the proposed gasoline tax cut, which had been given up for dead.

SEN. JFK JR.?

Influential New York Democrats, looking for the best candidate to oppose Republican Sen. Alfonse D'Amato for re-election in 1998, are privately boosting a glamorous newcomer: John F. Kennedy Jr.

The 35-year-old son of the late president is editor-in-chief of *George* magazine and never has been involved in politics. Although nobody has yet sounded him out about becoming a candidate, he has shown interest in the forthcoming Senate race.

Democratic insiders who have talked to Kennedy consider him a dream candidate. They think he would bowl over New York City Public Advocate Mark Green, the early front-runner for the Democratic nomination, in the primary election and then easily defeat D'Amato in the general election.

Robert Novak is a nationally syndicated columnist of the Chicago Sun-Times.

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**AMERICAN
OUTLOOK**

PRODUCED BY:
**CHICAGO
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FEATURES
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JFK JR.

The suffering of a man of conscience

THERE AND THEN
SRAYA SHAPIRO

MENAHEM Rizman, 24, was killed on May 22, 1948, as he drove an insufficiently armored vehicle bringing reinforcements to the beleaguered Ramat Rahel, on the southern outskirts of Jerusalem. A day earlier he had written a note to his parents in Tel Aviv urging them not to worry. "I hope we shall soon give the British, under their Arab disguise, a final blow and shall meet together in a free state of Israel."

At 15, Rizman resolved to write a diary, which he continued more or less regularly to his last day. Parts of it, and some of his letters, are now published in *Alumin Berzel Hase'ar* ("Youth in the Shade of the Storm") by the Ministry of Defense publishing house (124 pp).

The political situation of the Yishuv worried Rizman deeply. England had sold Czechoslovakia to the Germans, now we are going to be sold to the Arabs, he wrote. A friend with leftist convictions told him the Betar youths were murderers because they reacted to the Arab killing of Jews by killing Arabs. He refused to sing "Hatikva." "We are on the brink of disaster, we need unity," argued Menahem. But the other boy was not convinced.

He wanted to continue studies after graduating from Geula secondary school, but hated to impose himself on his hard-working father. Serving your country is more important than knowledge of literature, he stated.

He joined the Hagana, the secret organization preparing to defend the Yishuv from the probable Arab attacks. "After this accused war we will face a bloodbath," he noted.

In a letter to a girlfriend he observed that there was no hope in an all-embracing humanitarianism: "We are a society of nationalities, even of nationalisms."

His diary records his first cigarette and, courtesy of a girl he encountered in the Hagana, his introduction to the realm of masculinity. He was rather disgusted.

The creation of the Jewish Brigade promised some political improvement, he thought. But he was worried about "this undisciplined sect that had declared war on England," as he referred to Lehi, or the Stern Gang as it was known to the British. "One should act to stop them. But will I be able to shed my brother's blood?" He considered joining the Mappai Party's Young Guard. Internal enemies, he mused, were worse than external ones.

He studied at a teachers' seminary, covering some of his expenses by working on building sites. "I want to know what is Judaism, and what is not."

He read biographies of Madame Curie and Jack London: "Food for thought," he noted.

"We've destroyed religion, but what is there instead? I want to know how to behave."

There were informers among Jews. One who gave information on a Dead Sea arms cache was found dead. Informers betrayed Givat Brenner, and Afikim. "As in Warsaw, Lodz..."

A FRIEND of his was killed in encounter with the British police on the outskirts of Sarona. But Rizman was not cowed. "We must preserve the sanctity of the ideal. I don't give up. If I did, I would convert."

Young people craved action. "If we had said that blood would be spilled over the stopping of aliya, blood should have been shed - and not ours."

But some young men called for surrender. The British and the Arabs will crush us, they argued.

He enrolled at the Hebrew University. But the security situation worsened. The Hagana called for volunteers. "Should I be egotistical and stick to university studies?" he wondered. The answer was obvious: "Men of conscience have always suffered."

If he was called up he would spend three months "in a boy-scout atmosphere," he wrote to a girlfriend in 1947. Some people leave for abroad, he noted.

"Love, Motke, love your people!" he urged a friend. "I shall try to do my duty."

He attended a lecture given by labor leader Zalman Rubashov on the plight of the Jews in Europe following the war. "What do you propose to do?" Menahem wrote to Rubashov. "You just lament. Lament demoralizes and destroys."

On the eve of the War of Independence he was promoted by the Hagana and sent to help defend the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem's Old City. "I cannot keep my mouth shut," he wrote a friend. "We seem to be ruled by old men. Their judgment is somewhat unsteady. The instruction is to open fire only if attacked, after my people are killed. Nobody understands our political line. The Arabs don't want peace."

The future, if he survived, was nebulous, he admitted. "I wander lonely as a cloud," he wrote, quoting the English poet Wordsworth.

Meanwhile he was dispatched to Gush Etzion, which was under heavy attack. "Rains. Cold. Comrades fell at my side. People say every bullet has its address written on it. I don't stop such talk. I'm not a pacifist, I just realize that this is not child's play. Tel Aviv is probably gay and noisy, as usual."

When he was back in Jerusalem, he told his Hagana chiefs of his intention to resign, because he did not trust his CO. "Things are done which verge on the criminal," he complained. Available arms were not purchased, and 35 Hagana commanders, mainly university students, were sent to hold Gush Etzion without a radio transmitter! "We could have saved them, had we known they were so near us!"

Ben-Yehuda Street in Jerusalem was blown up one night. "But Jerusalem shows no sign of rebellion. Street urchins hop about in cars though fuel is so scarce!"

He was told to wait a month until more recruits were enlisted. Meanwhile he took part in small engagements in the area. "People are not trained," he complained to his brother, who was on Yigael Yadin's staff. "They don't know to whom they are responsible. If the enemy attacks Arza, 100 men will go. Commanding officers leave, promising to return, but don't. Palmah and reserve units don't help one another."

On May 22 the Hagana commander of Ramat Rahel appeared at HQ. His nerves were shattered and he refused to go back. Menahem Rizman was dispatched with a contingent of reinforcements. All were killed.



The antique look of this photograph of a writer in Scotland was produced by sandwiching baking parchment on wax paper with the negative.

(David Brauner)

'In-process discovery' in the darkroom

PHOTOGRAPHERS inevitably become bored with routine darkroom work. At some stage we long to experiment, to try something new and different, beyond humdrum printing. One artist-photographer aptly calls his darkroom experimentation "in-process discovery." There are several creative darkroom techniques that can add interest and character to a photograph without significant investment in either time or money. The first thing to do is choose a suitable negative. The subject must be strong - an expressive portrait or favorite landscape. Technically, the negative ought to be sharp, have a wide tonal range and err on the side of higher contrast.

The simplest way to alter a print is to add texture. Any textured material capable of passing light will superimpose its pattern on the image. Opaque glass used in bathroom windows creates excellent textures in prints. These days window glass comes in a variety of effects: rippled, grained and veined. Or use ordinary glass and smear petroleum jelly (Vaseline) over it to produce your own effects.

ON CAMERA DAVID BRAUNER

Lay the sheet of glass directly over the print paper on the easel. Use a higher grade (higher contrast) of paper, that is, Grade 4 or 5, or the multigrade equivalent. Exposure times will be longer because the light has to pass through the extra layer of glass.

Materials such as cheesecloth, lace curtain and nylon stockings or tights may be used in a number of ways to alter print quality. Cheesecloth laid over the print paper will give a "tapestry" effect. Moving stretched nylon under the lens during exposure will soften the image, producing a hazy, painterly look.

Other curious effects can be achieved by stretching the same materials as above over the enlarger lens, held in place by a

time. Of course, finding correct exposure times will require a certain amount of testing.

Another idea worth a try is to make a photocopy on lightweight paper of a map, line drawing or an interestingly penned document, say a university degree or a marriage contract. Place the photocopy over the photographic paper and expose the negative through it. The black lines or writing will come out white on the target print.

You can reverse the image by placing the dried positive print on top of a sheet of paper face down (emulsion side to emulsion side) and expose to strong light to achieve a negative image with black lines or writing. Match the photocopy image to the photograph.

So, use the marriage contract together with a photograph of the young couple, or the degree with the graduate, or a line drawing of a ship with a maritime scene.

Another method, also not too much trouble, is to photograph natural or designed patterns - stone walls, beach sand, fences or gratings, against the sky. Anything that creates a strong textured pattern is good.

Fill the frame with the subject, making sure there are no extraneous shadows or other unwanted elements at the edges. Slightly underexpose the negative and slightly overdevelop to produce some extra contrast.

Sandwich the texture or pattern negative with a subject negative in the enlarger, again emulsion side to emulsion side. A single- or double-glass negative carrier, as opposed to a glassless carrier, keeps everything flat, thus producing the sharpest possible results.

Each method of adding texture or pattern will produce its own unique results. The permutations are as many as the photographer's imagination can conjure up.

Need a graduation speaker? Try Clinton...or Kermit

THEY sit before you, bright young students resplendent in black gowns and mortarboards, surrounded by proud parents. They've withstood 16 years of schooling and four years of university lectures, and are minutes away from receiving their degrees.

But first they'll have to endure one more speech. Your speech.

Most of America's 3,100 colleges and universities confer degrees on their graduates and just about every one seeks a prominent local, national or international figure to deliver the keynote address. A famous speaker can bring prestige and national media attention to a university.

For the speakers, being invited is an honor - and they often receive honorary degrees. It can also be lucrative. Some collect fees of tens of thousands of dollars, though others speak for free.

But it's also daunting. Speakers are charged with packaging their life philosophy and worldly experience into a provocative,

humor-laden message that will inspire students throughout their lives. All in about 10 minutes.

"The audience is interested in one thing - the speaker getting the heck off the stage," said Robert Preiss, president of Forum Associates, a Washington-based lecture agency that often books graduation speakers.

Bob Dole, the Republican presidential candidate, seemed to be aware of that when he spoke at Gallaudet University in Washington.

"Someone once said that commencement speakers are like a body at a funeral," he said. "You can't hold the ceremony without one, but no one expects you to say very much."

Universities compete to land the most noteworthy speakers. President Bill Clinton received more than 100 commencement invitations. He accepted three.

The Aga Khan, the Ismaili Muslim leader, spoke at Brown University, urging students to bridge the gap between Western and Muslim cultures. Author Salman Rushdie spoke at

tiny Bard College in New York State, telling students to defy the "gods" that demand to be worshipped and obeyed.

Other speakers this year include Jordan's King Hussein, comedian Bill Cosby, novelist Tom Clancy, former general Colin Powell and opera singer Jessye Norman.

Students, parents and university administrators all want big-name speakers. But that doesn't mean they're always interested in what the speaker has to say. What matters most, Preiss said, is having someone noteworthy there just to show the importance of the event. "The words per se are of secondary importance," he said.

And big-name speakers don't assure more interesting speeches. This year's graduates have been squirming through the same words their predecessors heard: follow your dreams, create your own vision, take risks, work hard, help others, better your world, make a difference.

So what's a speaker to do? "You do not try to give them a philosophy,"

said Dr. Joyce Brothers, a radio and television psychologist and frequent commencement speaker. "You try to give them new information."

Giving a good, brief commencement speech is difficult - especially when you give several a year, she said. But it's also a delight because graduations are "one of the few occasions in America in which you have an unalloyed joy."

And keeping the students' attention isn't that difficult, she said. "They're not anxious - unless you go past the 10 minutes."

Some schools resort to the outlandish to make sure students have a memorable graduation. Southampton College outside New York City had Kermit the Frog as its speaker. Not everyone was amused.

"I am officially unhappy," Southampton student Samantha Chile said. "I've been here laboring for five years and now we have a sock talking at our commencement. It's kind of upsetting." (AP)

Roulette wheel of genetic engineering

HEADS 'N' TAILS
D'VORA BEN SHAUL

IF you study the pedigree of a championship-quality dog, cat or any other animal, you might be surprised to see that many of the animal's progenitors were closely related - sisters bred with brothers or half brothers and so on. Relying as we do on what we know to be the case among humans, we may be appalled and expect that this kind of breeding would have produced defective animals. But here we have a fine, show-quality animal and there doesn't appear to be anything wrong.

In general when operating a breeding program one wants a wide-based gene pool to draw from. Breeding from animals that are totally unrelated genetically lessens the possibility of the offspring inheriting the same unwanted characteristic from both parents. But when one often wants to narrow the gene pool by breeding genetically related animals. This increases the probability of the offspring inheriting the desired characteristics from both parents.

One finds that in most cases, whether it is pedigree dogs and cats, racehorses, cows and goats that produce large quantities of milk, or even superior meat-producing farm animals, a considerable amount of inbreeding has taken place.

Because of the almost universal taboo against incest in humans, many people have drawn the erroneous

conclusion that all inbreeding leads to defective offspring, which in the case of humans is more likely than not to be the case. This would also be true of animals if the inbreeding were done at random and all sorts of defective animals were inbred. But in the case of carefully structured animal breeding programs a great deal of selection for stock as near perfect as possible has already taken place before the inbreeding starts.

In any case, when defective animals are produced the breeder simply destroys them.

But all this works only when undertaken by a breeder with a firm grounding in genetics, and only in a carefully monitored breeding program. Inadvertent or inadequately planned and monitored inbreeding has in many cases produced offspring of a decidedly inferior quality. This has happened in certain breeds of dogs and cats and also in farm livestock.

One of the classic examples of this is the appearance of the "dwarf sterner syndrome" in beef cattle in the US. Because breeders relied too heavily on only a few genetically related bulls for artificial insemination of their cows, they almost destroyed their herds by passing this diseased state on to nearly every animal in the herd. One has to remember that genetic inheritance is somewhat like a roulette wheel; if one wants to play the odds it is best to know exactly what one is doing.

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Key Representative Rates table showing US dollar, Sterling, and Mark rates against NIS.

Stocks fall, bonds rally FTSE up 32.2

WALL STREET REPORT

NEW YORK (Reuters) - Blue-chip stocks closed lower Friday despite a powerful bond market rally as investors sold high-risk shares on the last trading day of the second quarter.

strategist at Dean Witter. "I think it's difficult or dangerous to read things into this. I wouldn't."

LONDON (Reuters) - Blue shares ended the second quarter on a firm note, boosted by bonds, as US Treasuries advanced amid a growing feeling the Federal Reserve will leave interest rates unchanged after its policy meeting next week.

During a busy US trading morning, the dollar hit 109.98 yen just before 10 o'clock. Investors protecting the area above 110 yen fought off the climb and the profit takers stepped in.

ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS table showing Patah (foreign currency deposit rates) and Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates.

INTERNATIONAL STOCK PRICES table listing various international stocks with their prices and changes.

MUTUAL FUNDS

Mutual Funds table with columns for Fund Name, Unit Cost, Net Asset Value, and Monthly Yield.

State Bonds table listing various state bonds with their prices and yields.

Company Bonds table listing various company bonds with their prices and yields.

Foreign Currency table listing various foreign currencies and their exchange rates.

Mixed table listing various mixed investments with their prices and yields.

INTEL STOCK MARKETS table showing Intel stock market data.

New York market indexes table showing various market indexes and their values.

Other stock market indexes table showing other stock market indexes.

Israeli stocks in NY table showing Israeli stocks listed in New York.

Dollar crosses (US) table showing dollar crosses.

Libor rates table showing Libor rates.

Foreign financial data courtesy of CommStock Trading Ltd. table.

INTEL COMMODITIES AND METALS table showing Intel commodities and metals.

Welcome to the new quarter WALL STREET WEEK

NEW YORK (AP) - If a weekend's rest comes between each work week, then maybe a full week should come between each business quarter.

No such luck for stock market investors - there'll be little time to reflect on quarters past with a virtual minefield awaiting investors in the coming week.

Opting for a bull's eye, every time? Let us handle your portfolio.

NEW YORK table listing various New York stocks with their prices and changes.

London table listing various London stocks with their prices and changes.

Paris table listing various Paris stocks with their prices and changes.

Frankfurt table listing various Frankfurt stocks with their prices and changes.

Huge drug bust near Beit Shemesh

BILL HUTMAN

ONE of the largest illicit drug parties ever held in this country was raided by police yesterday morning in a park near Beit Shemesh. Twelve dealers in LSD and Ecstasy, including two 16-year-olds, were arrested by undercover police, who also busted 16 users and one of the organizers.

An estimated 400 party-goers came from all over the country, with the event advertised through word of mouth and fliers that indicated, via code, that illegal drugs would be sold.

The party began at around 2 a.m. at Kedushim Park, near Moshav Kesalon. Massive speakers were trucked to the park and a well-known British disc jockey was hired by organizers for the event. Police secretly filmed the entire

party, and more arrests are likely, a police spokesman said. The undercover detectives used marked bills to purchase the drugs.

LSD and Ecstasy pills were sold at NIS 50 to NIS 100 each. Party-goers also paid NIS 50 for entrance.

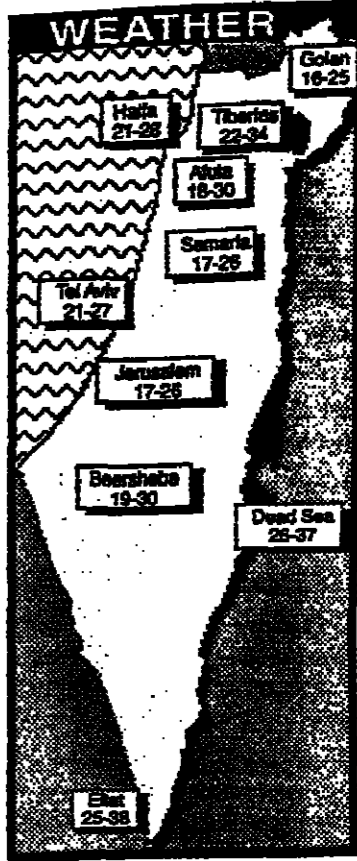
At about 9 a.m., one undercover detective cut the generator while some 30 others detained the dealers and started arresting users.

The spokesman said police were concerned that if the arrests were not made simultaneously, the dealers would get away in the crowd of over 400. He said it was the biggest acid party police have known about in the area, and one of the biggest in the country.

Remand hearings are to be held today in Jerusalem Magistrate's Court.



Supporters of Likud MK Ariel Sharon demonstrate Friday outside the Prime Minister's Office during the cabinet meeting, demanding he be given a ministerial portfolio. (Rimon Hender)



AROUND THE WORLD

Location	Temp	Wind	Cloud
London	15-20	W 10-15	Partly
Paris	16-21	W 10-15	Partly
Rome	18-24	W 10-15	Partly
Moscow	14-19	W 10-15	Partly
Beijing	22-28	W 10-15	Partly
Tokyo	23-29	W 10-15	Partly
Manila	24-30	W 10-15	Partly
Hong Kong	25-31	W 10-15	Partly
Los Angeles	20-26	W 10-15	Partly
New York	18-24	W 10-15	Partly
Chicago	16-22	W 10-15	Partly
San Francisco	14-20	W 10-15	Partly
London	15-20	W 10-15	Partly
Paris	16-21	W 10-15	Partly
Rome	18-24	W 10-15	Partly
Moscow	14-19	W 10-15	Partly
Beijing	22-28	W 10-15	Partly
Tokyo	23-29	W 10-15	Partly
Manila	24-30	W 10-15	Partly
Hong Kong	25-31	W 10-15	Partly
Los Angeles	20-26	W 10-15	Partly
New York	18-24	W 10-15	Partly
Chicago	16-22	W 10-15	Partly
San Francisco	14-20	W 10-15	Partly

Government to open Web sites

JUDY SIEGEL

THE government will officially enter cyberspace in two months, when the Knesset is to open a Web page on the Internet, to be followed by sites for each of the government ministries and other public bodies.

This was announced at a symposium of government deputy directors-general and computer systems operators, organized by the Israel Productivity Institute last week.

Eliezer Friedman, director of the government team for economic efficiency, and Prof. Danny Dolev, chairman of the National Committee for National Infrastructure, Information, and Computer Communications, explained the importance of using the Internet for disseminating information to the public and receiving data from the public.

Dolev explained that the Knesset's Web site will include information about the activities in the House, official records, and historical information. This site will be financed by the Knesset.

In addition, the Ministry of Science and Technology will cover the costs of Web pages for all government ministries and other public bodies. If they choose to do so, the ministries themselves will be responsible for supplying relevant data bases for viewing by the public. Local authorities are expected to join in.

The information will be provided initially in Hebrew and English, and other languages will follow. Some ministries, including Foreign Affairs, Religious Affairs, and Education, have already established a presence on the computer network. In the future, government ministries will also accept information from residents, including requests for sending printed forms or by filing out forms electronically.

Dolev said the project is aimed not only at Israelis, but also at Internet users around the world. The Web pages will not carry advertising.

Suspect remanded in gangland widow's murder

RAINE MARCUS

A SUSPECT in last Thursday's murder of Shoshana Aslan was remanded Friday by Tel Aviv Magistrate's court for 10 days. The man, whose name was banned from publication, has been arrested in the past in connection with the settling of underworld scores. He denied all allegations.

Aslan, 42, the widow of underworld leader Yehzekiel Aslan, was gunned down outside her Herzliya Pituah villa as she arrived home early Thursday evening. Her 11-year-old son saw his mother shot several times in the chest by a masked gunman who fled on foot.

Yehzekiel Aslan, who police dubbed "the undisputed leader of organized crime," was murdered some three years ago as he was getting into his car outside a Tel Aviv restaurant. His accused murderers are currently awaiting a verdict in Tel Aviv District Court.

Shoshana Aslan was buried Friday at Kiryat Shaul Cemetery. Her funeral was more subdued than that of her husband, with underworld figures conspicuous by their absence. Her husband's funeral was

accompanied by convoys of luxury cars, as underworld leaders came to pay their last respects to a man who allegedly made millions from gambling operations here and abroad, drug trafficking, and protection rackets.

Profits were used to open restaurants and food companies, which were taken over by his widow, much to the dismay of underworld figures. However, Shoshana Aslan's murder was described as "the breaking of criminal codes," since this

time a woman, a mother of five, was the victim.

"But let's not be chauvinistic. She was no angel and in the three years she controlled her late husband's businesses had already made many enemies," said an officer. "The tragedy here is that she has left behind orphaned children."

Police envisage a continuation of the bloodbath seen over these last three years during which several leading criminals have been murdered by hit men.

"The next revenge attack will come - it's just a matter of time," said an officer.

Unions set to launch sanctions tomorrow

THE Histadrut will launch a series of sanctions this week aimed at disrupting the economy, as part of its protest against the government's economic policies and privatization plans.

Bezek workers will hold their protest meeting today from 10 a.m. to 11 a.m.

Some 300,000 workers, including those at the Airports Authority, El Al, Israel Aircraft Industries, and the Ports Authority, are to attend union meetings tomorrow from 10 a.m. to 11 a.m.

The meetings are expected to cause major disruptions to air and rail traffic and other services.

Banks will open tomorrow at 9 a.m. and most municipal, local authorities, and government employees will stop work for an hour.

Last week, Histadrut Chairman Amir Peretz said, the sanctions are "only the beginning of the struggle and are a protest against plans to erode salaries of workers and bring about the firing of thousands of workers in the public sector."

The Histadrut, he said, is also wary of cuts in assistance and investment in development towns and the cancellation of the pension arrangements.

Peretz is to meet today with Finance Minister Dan Meridor and Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu tomorrow to discuss the government's economic plans. (Itim)

Israel makes promising contacts at arms show

All 12 companies report good business

ELDAD BECK

PARIS

THE 12 Israeli companies that participated in EuroSatory '96, the world's biggest land armament exhibition, which closed yesterday, all said they made contacts that could lead to contracts.

"No contract was signed here, since these sorts of negotiations might take a long time. It's not a fashion or food exhibition - we're talking about a lot of money," explained Oran's Yossi Gershon. "This kind of contact is only a first step that will be followed by numerous stages of demonstration and instruction."

Oran, Israel's leading manufacturer of armored laminated windshields, is already supplying the French police with armored glass for vehicles.

"Exhibiting here certainly promotes sales, but since it's the first time it's impossible to evaluate how many contracts will be

signed in the future," said Gershon.

Most of the visitors to the Israeli pavilion were from Western Europe and the Far East. But visitors also came from Arab countries and Iran.

One Iranian delegate said he came to the Israeli exhibit to express his hope that the political conflict between both countries would be solved soon.

"The problems exist between our governments, not between the two nations," he added.

"I saw the head of the Syrian delegation passing next to my stand, but I didn't want to initiate any discussion with him," said a representative of Shalom Chemical Industries.

According to other participants, interest in Israeli products was not affected by the change in government.

Reform rabbi: Yisrael Ba'aliya pursuing wrong tactics

KEREN MARKUZE

YISRAEL Ba'aliya's tactics for achieving its short-term goals for Russian immigrants will not be effective, according to Rabbi Uri Regev, director of the Reform Movement's Israel Religious Action Center.

"The new immigrant party should not be dependent upon the goodwill of the Chief Rabbinate," he said.

Yisrael Ba'aliya representatives met with the two chief rabbis on Tuesday to present a list of demands for the betterment of the new immigrants, specifically

those who are either not Jewish or whose religion is unknown.

Proposed improvements to their current status include more lenient conversion, recognition of civil marriages, burial of non-Jews within the gates of a cemetery, and the dispatch of Israeli emissaries to Russia to help prepare new immigrants.

The party's present aim is to find practical solutions to existing problems, and it is steering clear of ideological debates, said a

party spokesman.

Regev believes the party is not properly representing its constituents. While the party is headed toward short-term solutions, Regev believes the Russian immigrants want a more encompassing change.

For example, Yisrael Ba'aliya is aiming for the sanctioning of civil marriages for immigrants who are not Jewish or whose religion is unknown. But recent polls show that 95 percent of all Russian immigrants want free choice both in marriage and divorce.

Immigrant group says Jewish Agency owes it \$288,000 rent

Russian association also demanding agency vacate offices

YOCHI DREAZEN

THE All-Israel Association of New Immigrants from the USSR-

CIS is demanding the Jewish Agency vacate offices it rents from the association in downtown Tel Aviv, in addition to paying \$288,000 in back rent accrued over the past eight years.

"We've tried every approach," said MK Sofia Landver (Labor), chairwoman of the association, who is also a member of the agency's Board of Governors. "But we're in a dire financial situation, and we should be able to count on their promises."

The dispute stems from a 1986 agreement whereby the agency would rent space from the association offices in Tel Aviv's Migdal Or building for \$36,000 a year. The agency has since rented out the offices to different groups, investing the money in its pension fund.

However, the association claims it received no payments for the last eight years, for a total overdue rent of \$288,000.

Landver said she had decided to turn to her fellow trustees for help, before bringing the matter to court. "We don't want to fight the agency," she said. "We hope this will solve things without the need for a lawsuit."

Eldad Adar, a spokesman for the agency, agreed that the association's demands are justified. "According to what we can see, they're right," he said. "[Agency Chairman] Avraham Burg has asked his staff to find a solution to the problem."

Adar said the agency had not paid the rent due to apparent administrative irregularities in the immigrant organization.

"About a year ago, our comptroller discovered some serious irregularities in their financial organization, and decided not to pay them anything until they reorganized in accord with agency procedures," he said. "Since then, they've tried to fix things up. But it's still not fair what happened to them."

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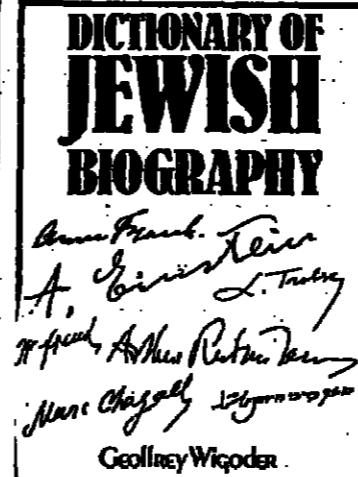
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